INTERRACIAL FAMILIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

BY

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This thesis is dedicated to my parents who have provided me with the best example of a successful marriage. They have always encouraged and supported me in every respect.

SUMMARY

Interracial marriage can be viewed as a barometer of social change. South Africa has historically been a country of racial tension with legislation seeking to keep the races apart. However, during April 1994 the country's first democratic elections took place, thus ending the reign of white minority rule. It is against this backdrop that the present study took place.

The aim of the study is to seek a deeper understanding of the experiences of mixed-race families living in South Africa. Certain questions are raised, inter alia; the causes for interracial relationships and marriage , the reactions of the families of origin, the patterns of adjustment, the raising of the children with specific reference to identity development and, the reactions of the community.

Theories on prejudice, discrimination and interpersonal attraction were studied as a basis for a possible understanding of the phenomenon of mixed marriage. A brief exposition of the history of South Africa detailing relevant legislation places the study in context. Statistics on the incidence of interracial marriage and divorce were tabulated.

Research pertaining to mixed marriage and interracial children was reviewed emphasizing the issues as outlined in the questions posed. However, very few studies could be found which related to South Africa. As such, media coverage of interracial relationships as reported in South Africa between 1993 to 1994 was also covered.

Seven interracial families living in South Africa formed the sample for the study. Each family had one parent from the white population group and one non-white parent. All families had children. The respondents were self-selected and a qualitative research methodology, primarily using face-to-face, semi-structured interviews was employed. The study was exploratory in nature and sought to investigate the experiences of interracial families.

Despite the small sample size, a number of emergent themes could be identified. Findings were primarily positive with couples in the main reporting satisfying relationships. Identity development of children was vested in aspects other than race, specifically religion and nationality. Black/white interracial children tended to reject the coloured identity and preferred to define themselves in other terms.

All families were exposed to prejudice and discrimination in some form. White South African extended families tended to react more negatively than their non-white counterparts. Discrimination from the community ranged from insulting comments to physical assault, the white population group again being the primary proponents.

Limitations of the study which include difficulties with duplication and the perceived lack of generality were discussed in the concluding chapter. Several issues were identified which will hopefully serve to stimulate future research.

SAMEVATING

Gemengde of veelrassege huwelike kan beskou word as 'n barometer van sosiale verandering. Daar was histories rassespanning in Suid-Afrika met wetgewing wat die rasse apart wou hou. Gedurende April 1994 het die land se eerste demokratiese verkiessing egter plaasgevind wat 'n einde gebring het aan blanke minderheidsregering. Dit is teen hierdie agtergrond wat die huidige studie plaasgevind het.

Die doel van die studie is om 'n dieper begrip te verkry van die ervaringe van gemengde gesinne wat in Suid-Afrika woon. Sekere vrae word gevra, onder andere die oorsaak van die gemengde verhoudings en huwelike, die reaksies van die gesinne van oorsprong, aanpassingpatrone, die grootmaak van kinders met spesifieke verwysing na identiteitsontwikkeling, en die reaksie van die gemeenskap.

Teorieë oor vooroordeel, diskriminasie en interpersoonlike aantrekking is bestudeer as 'n grondslag om die verskynsel van gemende huwelike te probeer begryp. 'n Kort samevatting van die geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika waarin die relevante wetgewing uiteengesit word, plaas die studie in konteks. Statistiek oor die voorkoms van gemende huwelike en egskeidings word in tabelvorm uiteengesit.

Navorsing oor gemengde huwelike en kinders van gemengde afkoms is hersien en die kwessies soos in die vrae uiteengesit, is beklemtoon. Daar was egter baie min studies wat verband hou met Suid-Afrika. Berigte in die media oor gemengde verhoudings wat in 1993 tot 1994 in Suid-Afrika verskyn het, is dus ook gedek.

Sewe gemengde gesinne wat in Suid-Afrika woon het as die studie proefstuk deelgeneem. Elke gesin het een ouer uit die blanke bevolkingsgroep en een nie-blanke ouer. Al die gesinne het kinders. Die respondente is self-geselekteerd en 'n kwalitatiewe navorsingsmetodologie, wat hoofsaaklik gebruik maak van aangesig-tot-aangesig, semi-gestruktureerde onderhoude, is gebruik. Die studie was ondersoekend van aard en het ten doel gehad om die ervaringe van gemengde gesinne te bestudeer.

Ondanks die klein steekproefgrootte kon 'n aantal ontluikende temas geidentifiseer word. Bevindinge was hoofsaaklik positief en pare het hoofsaaklik bevredigende verhoudinge gerapporteer. Identiteitsontwikkeling van kinders is gesetel in ander aspekte as ras, spesifiek in godsdiens en nasionaliteit. Kinders van gemengde swart/wit afkoms is geneig om die "gekleurde" identiteit te verwerp en verkies om hulleself in ander terme te definieer.

Alle gesinne is blootgestel aan vooroordeel en diskriminasie in een of ander vorm. Wit Suid-Afrikaanse uitgebreide gesinne is geneig om meer negatief te reageer as hul nie-blanke eweknieë. Diskriminasie van die gemeenskap strek van beledigende kommentaar tot fisiese aanranding en weereens is dit hoofsaaklik uit die blanke bevolkingsgroep afkomstig. Beperkinge van die studie wat probleme met duplisering en die waargenome gebrek aan algemene toepaslikheid insluit, word in die slothoofstuk bespreek. Heelparty kwessies is geidentifiseer wat hopelik toekomstige navorsing sal stimuleer.

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CHAPTER 1
OVERVIEW

1.1 Introduction

Little is known of interracial families and the few studies available originate primarily in the United States of America (Heer, 1974). In the South African context almost no studies of mixed-race families exist. On the other hand significant media coverage has appeared over the period 1993 to 1994. These articles generally concentrate on interracial relationships which are portrayed as controversial and highlight the acceptance intolerance of the public's view on the issue (See Appendix A).

Statistics on interracial marriages in the Republic of South Africa were only available between 1987 and 1991. Figures before this date were not published because legislation existed that prohibited mixed marriages between the white and non-white population groups. These laws were finally repealed in 1985. No figures are available after 1991 as the Population Registration Act, which required all individuals to register according to their particular racial group, was abolished in 1991. As such it was no longer necessary to register ones' racial group when marrying.

Since the legalisation of mixed-race marriages, questions arise concerning the nature of these relationships. Also of interest is the family life of such couples, whether they have been accepted by their respective extended families, and how they are viewed by the community.

In order to come to an understanding of these complexities, certain concepts need to be addressed. These include marriage, the family, race and the issue of mixed-race.

1.2 Marriage

Marriage is an universal institution which has many manifestations. It is generally defined as a legally and socially sanctioned union between two individuals of the opposite sex which accords status to their offspring. The universality of marriage is attributed to certain basic functions that it performs, for instance, procreation and the regulation of sexual gratification, care and socialisation of children and the provision of satisfaction of personal needs (Gwin, Swanson & Goetz, 1986; Halsey & Friedman, 1981).

Most marriages are accompanied by some form of ceremony or ritual which marks the importance of the event. In Western societies a marriage is a legal contract which involves the assumption of certain rights and obligations between the parties. Although marriage is viewed as a permanent union, almost all societies make provision for divorce. However, there is generally a reluctance to sanction divorce (Gwin et al., 1986; Halsey & Friedman, 1981).

Until modern times marriage was seldom a matter of free choice based on mutual love. In particular societies where the basic family unit was the extended family, arranged marriages based on a mutually beneficial exchange were fairly common. However, there is a universal move towards marriages which are the result of a dating process based on the choice of the couple. Although polygamous marriages (involving more than one spouse) are also allowed under customary laws in some societies, there is a growing tendency towards monogamy (Gwin et al., 1986).

These trends have also begun to signal a move away from the norm of endogamy which involves the practice of marrying someone from within one's own group, towards a greater acceptance of exogamy, that is, marrying outside of one's group. Intermarriage (the subject of this study) is of particular importance when addressing race relations as it provides an

indication of assimilation and the breakdown of barriers between groups (Lee, 1988). Simpson and Yinger (1985) contend that intermarriage can be seen as an index of social distance with higher rates signalling a greater degree of contact between different groups.

1.3 Family

Although the modern family includes the concept of single parenthood and often excludes the formal marital contract, it seems that marriage still lays the foundation for the family. A family can be defined as a group of persons united by blood, marriage or adoption and who generally reside in the same household. The most basic form of the family would include the marital partners and their offspring, known as the nuclear family. The extended family would consist of additional members, perhaps grandparents and/or spouses of married children and grandchildren. Families are almost universally organised to provide certain functions which include the generation of emotional and psychological love and security, the socialisation and education of children as well as humanitarian activities such as caring for sick and disabled members (Gwin et al., 1986).

1.4 The Concept of Race

The term race can mean almost any human group with certain characteristics in common and the term is often applied to cultural groups, for example the German race or the Hispanic race. Mörner (1967) reserves the term to designate one of the great divisions of mankind which share well-defined characteristics. He refers to the colour of the skin and eyes, type of hair, anthropometric features and sanguineous group. Findlay (undated, circa 1930's) states categorically that race is a biological concept and not a sociological one, dividing mankind into three divisions, namely; Caucasion, Mongoloid and Negroid. He notes that the

shape of the head and face, eyes, nose, mouth and lips, degree of prognathism, hair, skin colour and bodily proportions are distinguishing features among the three groupings.

Mörner (1967) contends that although it may have been easy to categorise mankind along racial divisions in the past, recent research reveals that this is no longer the case since differences are vague and difficult to establish. He maintains that today it is generally agreed that there should be no racial classification. Furthermore, Mörner poses the question of how significant racial differences are biologically, psychologically and intellectually. He discusses various research but concludes that it is extremely difficult to separate the genetic composition from the environment's socio-cultural effects and claims that the present research has failed to justify any racial division into intellectually "superior" or "inferior" races. He goes on to say that it is likely that although men may differ in knowledge, generally they are probably equal in their capacity to learn.

Besanceney (1970) stresses the social significance of race which has been built on a biological base. He maintains that race can be understood as the way in which individuals classify each other on the basis of certain physical characteristics. Gist and Dworkin (1972) state that "racial purity" is a myth but one which is still accepted by many individuals despite the fact that a formidable body of evidence exists which indicates that all people represent some admixture of hereditary traits from a variety of race groups. The authors conclude that race has important social, cultural and psychological ramifications because of the values, both positive and negative placed on certain racial characteristics. Further- more, Gist and Dworkin write that these values can seriously affect minority groups with regard to prejudice and discrimination, in particular, people of mixed racial heritage.

As early as 1942, Littlefield, Lieberman and Reynolds (1982) report was challenged in American physical anthropology. However, the researchers studied anthropology textbooks and discovered that in the period 1932 to 1969 the majority of authors overwhelmingly accepted the biological concept of race as a valid tool for the study of

human variation. Around 1970 authors became non-committal, that is, the author attempted to present both sides of the argument without clearly stating his or her preference. However, between 1970 and 1979 the majority of authors rejected the race concept on the basis that it was not useful in research and tended to obscure the understanding of human variation while simultaneously having harmful social consequences. Some authors during that period continued to argue for the existence of the concept, pointing to the fact that a Negro, a Chinese and a blonde Swede look completely different from each other and the development of such racial differentiation can only be understood if one accepts the concept of separate races. Littlefield et al. (1982) have not attempted to resolve these issues but have rather advanced several hypotheses as to why the concept of race began to decline in popularity after 1970. The researchers point out that anthropology used to be a science studied by practitioners who were quite homogenous in terms of class and social background. Very few women or minority groups were represented in the profession. This began to change in the 1970's and in addition many students from diverse backgrounds gained entry into the profession. As such, both the authors and consumers of anthropology textbooks began to change and the concerns of larger society with regard to race and racism began to be reflected in the texts.

An examination of the terms concerning race used by the United States census between 1890 and 1990 was the subject of a study by Lee (1993). Conventional usage of these terms referred to individuals who could be differentiated on the basis of physical characteristics. This was reflected in the early United States census where the focus tended to differentiate between white and non-white groups. In the past it was assumed that enumerators could assign the population into one of the stated groups by observation. Over the years, Lee (1993) noted some important changes. Of particular relevance was the addition of a number of ethnic categories such as Eskimo, Aleut, Asian or Pacific Islander, Korean, Vietnamese and a host of others. This resulted in a medley of racial and ethnic terms all under the umbrella term of race. Another important change was the fact that individuals were free to choose their own category and enumerators recorded the

individual's chosen response. A further change was an increase in the number of respondents making use of the category "other". Lee (1993) concludes that race is therefore a construction that cannot be separated from the social and political context. The self-identification system of classification allows individuals to exercise "ethnic options" and acknowledges the growing number of mixed-race individuals who prefer to identify with a particular ethnic group.

Rodriquez and Cordero-Guzman (1992) agree with Lee (1993) that race is a construct which changes in definition regardless of the physical characteristics of that group of people. The researchers cite South Africa as one example, in that the Japanese were at one stage in history accorded the status of honorary whites because of business ties with the country. Another example is the Jews who were classified as a separate race by the Germans during a particular period. The authors point out that the biological concept of race was historically largely supported by white researchers. Other race groups view the concept in different ways often emphasising cultural aspects.

Goldberg (1992) argues that race is not a static concept with a single given meaning. It has been used to define population groups at various stages in history and its emphasis has shifted from a biological base to an ethnic and cultural one. Goldberg (1992) explains :

> "Even in picking out a person in a crowd in terms of skin colour, we can only rarely be employing merely skin colour as the sole mark of identification. For 'black' and 'white' are never single shades of skin hue, indeed rarely properly black or white in colour at all, and are often confused with one another (as in the case of 'passing' and sun tans). What pigmentation often stands for in such cases of ostensive reference, ... is a range of encultured characteristics that include (but need not be limited to) a mode of dress, bearing, gait, hairstyle, speech, and so forth ... The way of looking at

> race that I have suggested - (is) as a fluid, transforming, historically specific concept parasitic on theoretic and social discourses for the meaning it assumes at given historical moments ..." (p.553).

Hirschfeld (1993) challenges the traditionally held belief that children identify and categorise individuals into different race groups according to visual and perceptual criteria. He conducted two experiments on memory for racial information using a sample of French pre-schoolers. In the first experiment children were tested on their recall of social descriptions embedded in a verbal text. The second experiment tested their recall after the children had viewed a similar visual narrative. Results reveal that children recalled considerably less information about the race of the characters in the visual story than during the auditory text. In the visual experiment the children tended to focus on the occupation or behaviour of the characters as opposed to race. Findings suggest that although race is perceived visually, the concept is possibly more important to even young children for ontological reasons. In other words, children attach meaning to race before or at least simultaneously to the awareness of perceptual differences.

On the issue of identification, Brigham and Malpass (1985) researched the tendency of own-race bias in recognition accuracy, that is, people are better able to identify members of their own race than members of a different race. The authors do not debate the concept of race but rather attempt to find an explanation for the differential recognition by race groups. Four related hypotheses are presented, none of which are claimed to provide a satisfactory answer. Firstly, some races may be more difficult to recognise than others. Various researchers have not found support for this hypothesis and point out that no racial group studied proved to be more or less physically homogeneous or more recognisable than any other. A second hypothesis considered that prejudice would interfere with perception which would lead to the misidentification of the disliked group. Studies have not found an association between racial attitudes and accuracy of

recognition. The third hypothesis postulated that people may orientate differently towards their own race than towards other race groups. Studies which sought to prove this were unsuccessful, even after the researchers had attempted to orientate the subject with regard to facial attributes of other races. The fourth explanation suggests that contact with other race groups would facilitate recognition. Some studies have provided supportive evidence for this hypothesis but others have not. However, what is clear is that although cross-racial experience has led to a decrease in racial prejudice amongst whites, the quality and experience of that contact is important.

Most parts of the globe have been touched by racial and ethnic conflict. This is the view of Jalali and Lipset (1992-93) who stress that a variety of cultural markers have led to an expression of identity, from skin colour, to language, tribal membership and religion, resulting in resentment towards those that are different. Jalali and Lipset (1992-93) propose that no nation in the world, except for a few having a completely homogeneous population, is free from some degree of human rights violation. However, the authors contend that the large number of human rights organisations currently present are focussing greater world attention on countries that are guilty of such violations and in so doing are endevouring to protect the rights of minorities to practise the principle of self-determination.

Reynolds (1986) contends that sociobiology expects every racial group to feel itself superior to others. But in sharp contrast, political powers have at various stages claimed the superiority of one particular group over other races with the resulting imbalance of power being used to control the other races. Reynolds (1986) claims that in general it has been the white race who have tended to dominate other races in the past five hundred years. One solution which has been offered is the so-called "coffee coloured" race of the future to which everyone would belong. However, the author maintains that despite race mixing, the rate of homogamy remains high, pointing to the continued existence of racial conflict.

It seems clear that despite the lengthy debate regarding the concept of race, the term remains in general use as a means of punctuation even though its meaning seems to have broadened to include more than simply biological and physical differences. In other words race implies a broad range of cultural, ethnic, social and political definitions which are viewed differently by various nations, throughout various stages in history. As such, for the purpose of this study, "race" should be read as if in inverted commas even though the term appears without them. The category is defined in the broadest sense and is not meant to imply a particular biological definition. The term should rather be interpreted as a construct which has a sociological and historical meaning when referring to a particular population group within the context of South Africa.

This study will refer to the terms generally used by individuals to classify themselves, although due note is taken that these terms originate largely from the white population group. The terms white, black and coloured will be used as well as the terms Asian and Indian which will be used interchangeably. These five terms are used as a means of differentiation only.

1.5 The Concept of Mixed-Race

There are many terms in the literature which refer to a mixture of races. Some may be seen as derogatory, such as the term "half-caste" which is the title of a book by Dover (1937). There are indications in this work that the author has sought to shock readers with the liberal use of terms such as "bastards", "mixed breeds" and the like. Dover's own standpoint with regard to race mixing seems to be unclear but there is evidence to suggest that he considers people of mixed racial heritage to be misplaced in society. Certain terms may today be seen as outdated. For example, the term miscegenation, which the Oxford English Dictionary (1989) defines as the "... interbreeding between races, esp. between whites and Negroes" (p.513), is now no longer in general use although the term was used more extensively in the past.

Findlay (1936) identifies three forms of miscegenation :

* Primary miscegenation which involves the "crossing of pure stock".

* Secondary miscegenation involving the "crossing of pure with mixed stock".

* Tertiary miscegenation which concerns the unions of "different admixtures of mixed stock" (p.3).

Although Findlay uses the term "stock" in the text of his book he is referring to man exclusively and not to animals.

Miscegenation relates specifically to unions which produce progeny (Findlay, 1936). The author's views on the subject are clear in that he refers to the "social horror of miscegenation" (p.5) as a title of a chapter in his book. (His views will be discussed later as they pertain specifically to the South African context). As stated, the term miscegenation no longer appears to be in general use. Later researchers employ a range of other terms which seem to evoke less of an emotional reaction and are likely to be an effort to find a suitable descriptive reference.

Commonly used terms to describe children of interracial families are ; biracial, multiracial, multi-ethnic and interracial. On this subject, Wardle (1988) a white male who has a black spouse and two children from this marriage, prefers to reserve the term interracial for parents and biracial or multiracial for children. He feels that the use of the term "brown" as used by young children is also acceptable. He maintains that new groups generally struggle to find a name that clearly identifies them without being derogatory and recommends the use of separate terms for individuals who marry across racial boundaries

and children born of mixed parentage, since two different concepts are identified. Wardle expresses the eventual hope that no word will be needed but concedes that before that time comes one might see many name changes.

At a conference held in the United States of America to address the needs of children of interracial families, Shackford (1984) notes that various terms such as biracial, mixed, brown and rainbow children have been suggested. However, the majority of the participants tended to prefer the use of the term inter-racial as it was considered to be an inclusive expression of families which had American society to identify children as black whether both or only one of their parents was black. Henriques (1975) makes the point rather ironically that black blood must be "extremely potent stuff " for just a hint of it is enough to change a person's race from white to black.

For the purposes of this study the terms "biracial" and "mixed-race" children will be used interchangeably to indicate offspring of "mixed" or "interracial" couples, as these terms serve to convey the concept of a rich culture inherited from each parent.

1.6 The Present Study

This research is essentially exploratory in nature and seeks to gain a deeper understanding of the experiences of interracial families living in South Africa. In essence, the perceptions and views of the sample family members are explored which will hopefully provide a better understanding of such individuals.

Historically South Africa has been plagued by racial friction and until as late as 1991, racial legislation was still in existence. However, the year 1994 (in which this study was concluded) saw the country's first democratic elections over the period 26 to 29 April in

which all races participated, thus ending white minority rule over a black majority population.

Interracial marriage between the white and non-white groups had been legally prohibited from 1949 until 1985. Although such marriages had taken place, the subject was not widely researched or reported on in South Africa. Carl Roger's (1972) book entitled "On Becoming Partners" was banned in South Africa because it included a chapter on a black/white mixed marriage. As such, research in this country has been limited and focussed primarily on interracial couples.

The subject of biracial children had been largely ignored perhaps because couples who were more likely to have been legally married, would have had rather young children. Since racial intermarriage (as stated earlier) can be seen as an index of assimilation, studies on the subject would have the wider implication of serving as a barometer of changing racial attitudes in South Africa.

1.6.1 Aims of the Study

Certain general questions with respect to interracial families living in South Africa serve as a basis for this research :

* What causes individuals to intermarry?

* What was the reaction of the family of origin?

* What patterns of adjustment are present in interracial marriage?

* How are mixed couples raising their children?

* What is the impact of racial identity issues?

* What was the reaction of the community?

* What was the effect of the legal and political situation in South Africa?

These questions are discussed more fully in chapter 7.

The subject matter covered by each chapter is outlined below :

Chapter 2 examines theories in respect of prejudice, discrimination and interpersonal attraction.

Chapter 3 presents an historical overview of South Africa and details relevant legislation. This provides the context against which the study takes place.

In chapters 4 and 5, literature with regard to mixed-race marriage and biracial children are reviewed respectively. Although much of the research has been conducted in America and other countries, important insights may be gained as attitudes towards the subject have changed over time.

Incidence of interracial marriage and divorce is the subject matter of chapter 6. Special emphasis has been placed on the South African figures with an increase in incidence being the trend.

The research methodology is outlined in chapter 7 and details are given in respect of the seven respondent families who took part in the study.

Chapter 8 to 14 comprise the interviews conducted with the sample. Each family has been discussed as a separate chapter.

Chapter 15 contains the results of the study in the form of emergent trends which is followed by the concluding discussion in the last chapter.

CHAPTER 2
THEORIES : PREJUDICE, DISCRIMINATION AND INTERPERSONAL ATTRACTION

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines theories on the subjects of prejudice, discrimination and interpersonal attraction. In chapter 1 it was mentioned that racial conflict is a world-wide phenomenon which has plagued mankind for many centuaries. Theories on prejudice and discrimination seek to understand and explain why this happens.

Theories on interpersonal attraction explore the basis for why individuals like, dislike and fall in love with one another. Which factors promote attraction? This is particularly important in a study of this nature, concerned with interracial relationships.

2.2 Prejudice and Discrimination Defined

Prejudice refers to a special type of attitude, (generally negative) which an individual feels towards a particular group on the basis of their membership to that group. Since prejudice is an attitude it involves three primary components namely ; affective, that is, feelings ; cognitive, which refers to a set of beliefs and, behavioural aspects. The latter constitutes the basis for discrimination which is the propensity to act on one's prejudices (Freeman, Sears & Carlsmith, 1981; Byrne, 1991).

Byrne (1991) comments that individuals frequently behave in a discriminatory manner while professing to be unprejudiced. Similarly, people may hold prejudiced views which they can not express for fear of legislation, social pressure, retaliation and the like. At relatively mild levels discrimination may involve simple avoidance.

The author cites the South African apartheid system as an example of extreme discrimination.

Prejudice and discrimination is an all pervasive phenomenon by no means confined exclusively to the racial domain. Ageism, sexism, religious, cultural and political discrimination constitute other forms of prejudice, to name but a few. Violence can often be the end result of strongly held prejudices.

The questions can now be asked : Where does prejudice come from? What is the origin of prejudice?

2.3 The Origin of Prejudice

Bacon (1992) states that when human infants are placed in the same room, though different with regard to race and ethnicity, they seem to be oblivious to the differences between themselves.

> "They play together as if contrasts in skin colour, eye shape, hair texture and other outward dissimilarities mean nothing. Within a few short years, however, these same children become aware of these differences and, all too often, react negatively to them (p. 623) ".

The question is thus : What are the origins of these changes? Though people in general perceive themselves as unprejudiced, racial tension, ethnic riots, discrimination against a variety of individuals and groups take place on a world-wide scale (Bacon, 1992).

2.4 Theories of Prejudice

There are several theories which have attempted to answer this question. One of the oldest explanations of prejudice is the "realistic conflict theory" which proposes that prejudice stems from competition for scarce resources by two or more social groups. This creates hostility and as the competition continues so the groups view each other in increasingly negative ways (White, 1977).

These groups eventually label each other as enemies, viewing their own group as superior. Boundaries are drawn between themselves and their opponents more and more firmly. The theory thus suggests that what started out as a form of competition develops into entrenched attitudes of prejudice (Bacon, 1992).

The well-known study conducted in 1940 by Hovland and Sears is quoted in Bacon (1992) to support the realistic conflict theory. The data for the study covered a 49 year period. The researchers examined the relationship between various indices of economic conditions and the number of racial lynchings in Southern America. The worse the economic situation became, the greater the likelihood of this type of violence of whites against blacks occured. In 1988 Hepworth and West reviewed this study by Hovland and Sears, their reanalysis confirmed the original results. In sum, it seems that competition between various groups during economic hardship contributes to prejudice.

Another perspective on the origins of prejudice involves the process of social categorisation, that is, the propensity for people to divide their world into the distinct categories of "us" and "them". Such distinctions can be based on race, religion, occupations, area of residence et cetera. Persons in the ingroup are perceived in favourable terms, while those in the outgroup are assumed to possess undesirable qualities. Furthermore, the outgroup is regarded as being relatively homogeneous (Schaller & Maas, 1989; Linville, Fischer & Salovey, 1989).

A different angle on prejudice suggests that such reactions develop through a process of socio-cultural learning. The child acquires these attitudes from their parents, friends, teachers, the mass media and so forth. They are subsequently praised or rewarded in some way for adopting these views which further strengthens the attitude until it becomes the cultural norm (Byrne, 1991).

A fourth source of prejudice involves cognitive consistency. This view holds that individuals mold their attitudes and behaviour according to pre-existing notions or stereotypes. Evidence suggests that individuals can only notice, store, recall and use a limited amount of information about others. One shortcut way of understanding others would be to place people into convenient categories. A stereotype suggests that all members of a particular category possess similar characteristics (Devine, 1989; Linville, Fischer & Salovey, 1989).

Once an individual has acquired a stereotype about a group of people, he/she tends to look for information which confirms this cognitive framework while tending to ignore contradictory or inconsistent facts (Byrne, 1991).

An experiment by Snyder and Swann (1978) showed that stereotypes can become a self-fulfilling prophecies. The researchers arbitrarily assigned characteristics to target individuals without their knowledge. Another subject was then informed of these characteristics and the two individuals were subsequently required to perform a particular task. Findings revealed that target individuals behaved according to the expectations held by the subjects. This behaviour persisted in other situations even when subsequent subjects were unaware of the stereotype.

A final perspective on prejudice suggests that people are genetically predisposed to dislike members of groups other than their own (Rushton, 1989). The author holds that genes can best ensure their own survival by encouraging reproduction with similar

individuals. This proposal is the basis of the genetic similarity theory. However, Byrne (1991) contends that this view is not widely held but is nevertheless thought-provoking, although as yet unverified.

2.5 Combatting Prejudice

Whatever the origins of prejudice these negative attitudes can be quite difficult to change. However, since prejudice is recognised as a destructive force, several tactics to reduce prejudice have been proposed (Freedman et al., 1981).

One solution would be to change the early socialisation of children by encouraging parents, teachers and others to foster the development of positive views about all groups of people (Berk, 1989).

Another way of reducing prejudice would be to promote increased contact between different groups. This would hopefully lead to a growing recognition of similarities between them, thereby altering stereotypes. Evidence suggests that contact does combat prejudice but only under certain conditions (Cook, 1985; Byrne, 1991).

A study by Finchilescu (1988) investigated increased contact amongst nursing students in four different hospitals in South Africa. Two of the hospitals already had integrated training while two did not. Findings revealed that students in the two hospitals with interracial programmes reported stronger support for the concept than students in the other two hospitals. However, contrary to expectations, the nurses in the former two hospitals did not report more favourable views towards nurses of other race groups. The researcher suggests that while contact may bring about a positive attitiude towards specific persons, this attitude may not be generalised to the entire racial group or to other races in general.

Shifts in the boundary between the ingroup and the outgroup constitutes a third way of reducing prejudice. For instance a school may divide itself into teams setting up fierce competition amongst its pupils. But when these same pupils compete against other schools they are then united by a common goal. By integrating different groups into a unified team with a common purpose (for example, the Olympic Games) prejudice can be overcome (Byrne, 1991).

Counteracting the tendency to form stereotypes may also overcome prejudice. Neuberg (1989) conducted a study which indicated that when subjects were encouraged to pay special attention to others, they tended to perceive them in terms of personal qualities rather than according to stereotypes with respect to their race, gender et cetera.

Bacon (1992) summarises findings on combatting prejudice and proposes the following resistance plan :

* Breaking the cycle of prejudice by teaching people not to hate.

* Recategorisation, that is, shifting the boundaries between "us" and "them".

* Increasing direct integroup contact thereby reaping the benefits of close acquaintance.

Based on research into the above by various authors (Gaertner, Mann, Dovidio & Murrell, 1990; Wright, Taylor & Moghaddan, 1990; Stephen, 1987) it does seem that these procedures can eliminate or at least lessen prejudice between people.

In respect to the above-mentioned suggestions by Bacon (1992) the question can be raised regarding the possibility of eliminating prejudice to such an extent as to bring about

interpersonal attraction between two people of different race groups. In the next section theories of interpersonal attraction are discussed.

2.6 Interpersonal Attraction Defined

In definition, interpersonal attraction focusses on the responses of people to one another. Reactions can range from love to hate, everyone evaluates others in positive or negative terms. Positive emotions generally result in liking while negative emotions tend to lead to feelings of dislike (Park & Flink, 1989).

Several factors play a role in determining an individual's responsiveness to other people. Why are relationships established with certain people and not others? Major determinants of liking include proximity, emotional state, need for affiliation, physical attractiveness and similarity. Each of these factors will be discussed separately although they are in fact interlinked.

2.7 Proximity

Possibly the single best indicator of whether two people will become friends and/or develop and intimate relationship, is physical proximity. In fact, Segal (1974) states that proximity is a better indicator of social relationships between two people than shared religion or hobbies. For example, when classroom seats are alphabetically assigned, students are more likely to become friends with those whose surnames start with the same letter or a nearby letter to their own.

The effects of proximity have been shown to operate consistently in numerous settings, including housing units, dormitory rooms, apartment blocks and neighbourhoods, to mention a few (Freeman et al. , 1981). Byrne (1991) cites two reasons why

proximity shapes interpersonal lives. Firstly, from an early age people are taught to be wary of strangers and are thus uncomfortable when being approached by someone whom they have not seen before. This leads to an unwillingness to interact openly with that person. Secondly, repeated exposure generally results in an increasingly positive evaluation of the stimulus. Bernstein, Leone and Galley (1987) demonstrated how subjects who had been briefly exposed to a confederate's photograph before meeting that person, responded more favourably towards the confederate than those who had not had sight of the photograph.

Another logical reason of why proximity leads to liking as stated by Freedman et al. (1981) is simply that those who are closer are more available. It is difficult to maintain a relationship with someone living far away.

2.8 Emotional State

Research reveals that one is more likely to be attracted to someone when experiencing a positive emotional state. Negative feelings decrease attraction even when those emotions have not been aroused by that particular person. Veitch and Griffitt (1976) conducted an experiment which allowed subjects to hear a fictitious news broadcast before meeting a stranger. Some subjects heard positive news while others listened to negative news. As predicted, the former group reported liking the stranger significantly more than the latter subjects. This effect has been confirmed by other studies (Byrne, 1991).

2.9 Need for Affiliation

The tendency to seek out friends and establish intimate relationships seems to

have a biological basis. However, the need for affiliation varies from one extreme, those who prefer to spend time alone, to the other, those who have a constant desire to be in company of others (Wright, 1984).

External events can heighten the need for affiliation. Strangers are more motivated to reach out during unusual experiences, both positive and negative. Rofe (1984) comments that during stressful events individuals have a need to compare experiences and reactions. These comparisons induce a feeling of security by reducing uncertainty and anxiety.

2.10 Physical Attractiveness

The effect of physical attractiveness is particularly important in the early stages of interpersonal contact. Most people operate on the basis of stereotypes about attractiveness, often assigning positive qualities to better looking individuals. Both sexes tend to regard those who are attractive as more interesting, successful, socially skilled, sexual, intelligent and well adjusted (Moore, Graziano & Miller, 1987; Calvert, 1988). According to Rodin (1987) people engage in a process of cognitive disregard. On finding themselves faced with a number of strangers, individuals first exclude all persons whom they regard as "unsuitable" or uninteresting on the basis of certain physical attributes. Those remaining are more likely to be approached. This process saves time but does eliminate some people who may potentially have become friends or partners.

Although men are generally more influenced by attractiveness than women, there is a tendency for couples to pair off on the basis of similarity of physical attractiveness. The expectancy-value theory argues that people will try to maximise the attractiveness of a potential date while minimising possible rejection. The implication being that an individual may not pursue the most attractive member of the opposite sex but rather the most attractive person who will not reject them (Freeman et al . , 1981). However, mismatches do occur and researchers have attempted to explain these on the basis of

equity theory. This theory proposes that individuals contribute equal rewards to a relationship to avoid unfairness. Thus, if one partner is very much more attractive than the other, the less attractive spouse would tend to be of a higher status, wealthier or famous, et cetera in order to balance the relationship (Byrne, 1991).

2.11 Similarity

Similarity in terms of demographic characteristics, attitudes and values is important for interpersonal attraction. People tend to prefer those who are similar to themselves. Most theorists agree that similarity reinforces one's judgements about society. Similarity also generally leads to reciprocity which is a powerful determinant of attraction. Reciprocal liking reaffirms each individual in the relationship. This sets up a cycle whereby each partner is in turn responded to in a positive manner (Byrne, 1991).

2.12 Conclusion

This chapter draws attention to a theoretical basis which is relevant to the study. Interracial relationships are often considered to be outside of the norm. Racial prejudice and discrimination seems to remain prevalent not only in South Africa but all over the world. This prejudice affects all race groups and can not be isolated as a simple linear issue. Yet, people marry across the so-called "colour bar". Theories of interpersonal attraction may hold the explanation for why this occurs. The relevance of these theories to the case studies presented in this research will be explored in the concluding chapter.

Chapter 3 presents the history of South Africa with special emphasis on the development of legislation specifically related to the study.

CHAPTER 3
HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THE LAW

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide a synopsis of the history of South Africa highlighting the development of legislation in order to try to give an account of the way of life in general. Specific emphasis is placed on the sexual behaviour of individuals as well as marital and other relationships between people. The history and legislation will be dealt with separately, however, both provide a backdrop against which this study takes place and define the context of interracial families living in South Africa.

3.2 Historical Overview

By way of introduction, the Official Yearbook of the Republic of South Africa (Keyter, 1990) notes that discoveries of the remains of Early Man, Australopithecus, suggest that the subcontinent has been inhabited by man for a million years or more. Of the current population of peoples of South Africa, the bushmen were the first inhabitants. Rock paintings and engravings date back 28 000 years. The Hottentots can also be traced back for many years as well as certain of the Negroid peoples (Oakes, 1989).

The development of modern South Africa dates back to 1652 when some 90 men founded a community at the Cape of Good Hope under the instruction of the Dutch East India Company, who wanted to provide stores for its passing fleet of ships and establish a hospital to tend to the needs of sick sailors (Keyter, 1990; Van der Walt, Wiid & Geyer, undated).

In 1814 the Cape became a British crown colony by formal cession. However, by that time the white population despite their diverse European origin, had come to identify themselves as South African Afrikaners. The British attempted to anglicise the 26 000 strong population and in 1822 eliminated the use of the Dutch language. This contributed to the development of the Afrikaans language. At that stage some 5 000 British immigrants had arrived and settled in the Eastern Cape.

Slavery was abolished in 1834 and, disillusioned with British rule, about 6 000 Boer farmers (ten percent of the white population of the Cape Colony) decided to strike north in search of land they could call their own. And so, in 1934 the Great Trek began. The Voortrekkers[1] encountered hostile black people who were migrating southwards. This led to many clashes and land disputes. One group of Voortrekkers settled in Natal, another between the Orange and Vaal rivers while yet another group settled north of the Vaal. Although attempts were made by residents in the Natal area, which included a large group of British immigrants, to establish the Republic of Natalia, the British refused to recognise them and also considered all Voortrekkers to be subjects of the Crown. However, in the early 1850's Britain decided to abandon its colonial responsibilities and in 1852 a convention was signed which acknowledged the independence of Transvaal. In 1854 a similar convention acknowledged the independent Republic of the Orange Free State (Keyter, 1990; Muller, 1968).

Natal introduced Indian labour in 1860 for its sugar plantations. This added a new element to South Africa's existing racial population consisting of English and Afrikaans-speaking whites, black tribes who spoke a variety of languages including Zulu, Xhosa and Sotho, and Cape Coloureds, the product of unions between the early settlers and the local and slave black population. South Africa at that stage consisted of two independent Boer Republics, the Transvaal- and the Orange Free State Republics and two British colonies, the Cape- and Natal Colonies (Keyter, 1990).

1 An Afrikaans term meaning pioneers.

Rousseau (1960) contends that the British Colonial Office introduced Indian indentured labourers into the colony against strong opposition by the Natal settlers. These labourers, intended to be migrants, were supposed to return to India once they had completed their indentures, however, in most cases they remained. According to Rousseau :

> "... they injected the germs of much future trouble ... It was only at the turn of the century that immigration laws designed to check the influx and keep Asiatics out were passed, and by then most of the damage had been done" (p.2).

Discoveries of gold in the Transvaal, as well as diamonds led to increased involvement by the British in the Boer Rrepublics culminating in the Anglo Boer War which lasted from 1899 to 1902. This war resulted in the entire subcontinent again falling under the British Empire. However, responsible government was granted to the Transvaal in 1906 and six months later to the Orange River Colony. A number of considerations, particularly the issue of race relations favoured a closer union between the four colonies and the Union of South Africa was established in 1910 (Keyter, 1990; Oakes, 1989).

In 1913 a dispute led to a general strike when white mineworkers objected to the employment of black workers who were prepared to work for lower wages. Violence led to the intervention of the armed forces which outraged labour who became dissatisfied with the ruling government. The advent of World War I in 1914 and the subsequent decision to enter the war on the side of Britain upset many Afrikaners coming so soon after the Anglo-Boer War. When the then Prime Minister Botha died in 1919 he was replaced by General Smuts. The year 1925 saw Afrikaans becoming the second official language. In addition "Die Stem van Suid Afrika"[2] was adopted as a second national anthem and in 1928 the South African flag flew alongside the Union Jack (Keyter 1990; Muller, 1968).

2 The Voice of South Africa.

The outbreak of World War II in 1939 and South Africa's participation against Germany divided the English and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, with many Afrikaners supporting Germany. By 1941 the majority of Afrikaners were in favour of a republic. This strong nationalism amongst Afrikaans-speaking South Africans eventually resulted in the National Party winning the 1948 general elections. However, the National Party gained popularity amongst English-speaking South Africans as well and the party remained in power until 1994. The country prospered and in 1960 a referendum amongst the white electorate favoured a republican form of government. This resulted in the Republic of South Africa being declared in 1961, with Prime Minister H.F. Verwoerd at the helm. He had previously been the Minister of Native Affairs since 1950 and was closely associated with the policy of separate development (apartheid). Dr Verwoerd was assassinated in 1966 and Mr B.J. Vorster, the Minister of Police was elected as Prime Minister. He retired in 1978 and Mr P.W. Botha assumed the office of Prime Minister (and later President) until 1989 when Mr F.W. de Klerk was elected as President of South Africa (Keyter, 1990). Mr Nelson Mandela of the African National Congress became the first black President of South Africa when his party won a majority vote of 62 percent in the country's first all-race elections in April 1994.

During this period unrest, characterised by racial clashes prevailed. Resistance by the black majority to white rule resulted in the Sharpeville riots in 1960. A large number of blacks protesting the "pass laws"[3] advanced on a police station whereupon the police opened fire killing 69 people. In 1976 the Soweto uprising was caused by the insistence by authorities on Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black high schools (Keyter, 1990; Oakes, 1989).

3 The pass laws required all non-whites to carry a pass allowing them to be present in white areas.

3.3 Legislation

During this time, race-related legislation was being put into effect. Four Acts were especially significant, namely;

* The Population Registration Act, Act 30 of 1950,
* The Group Areas Act, Act 41 of 1950,
* The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, Act 55 of 1949 and
* The Immorality Act, Act 23 of 1957.

This legislation had a great impact on the lives of all people living in South Africa but specifically on mixed-race couples. The history and content of each Act will be addressed separately.

3.3.1 The Population Registration Act, Act 30 of 1950

This Act provided for the entire population to be classified according to racial groups which would form the basis for the National Party's policy of separate development. Since 1911 several Acts had a definition of race as part thereof. Many of these definitions were contradictory and as such the Population Registration Act sought to clarify the confusion. Unfortunately the legislation was not fully able to effect uniformity in the norms of racial classification (Barnard, Cronjé & Olivier, 1986).

The Act defined three population groups, namely the whites, blacks and coloureds.

Barnard et al. (1986) quote the definition of a white person according to the Act :

> "Someone who;
> (a) in appearance obviously is a white person and who is not generally accepted as a coloured person; or
> (b) is generally accepted as a white person and is not in appearance obviously not a white person, but does not include any person who for the purposes of his classification under this Act, freely and voluntarily admits that he is by descent a black or a coloured person unless it is proved that the admission is not based on fact" (p.142).

As such the first test was one of visual appearance and this was specified more precisely in another section of the Act to include the individual's habits, education, speech, deportment and demeanour which should obviously be that of a white person (Barnard et al., 1986). In which respect the above-mentioned criteria were different from that of other race groups was however, not specified.

Barnard et al. (1986) report that a black was defined in the Act "as a person who is a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa, or who is generally accepted as such" (p.147). A coloured was defined "as a person who is neither a white or a black" (p.148). The coloured group was subdivided into seven groups, namely; the Cape Coloured Group, the Malay Group, the Griqua Group, the Chinese Group, the Indian Group, the Other Asiatic Group and the Other Coloured Group. The Act made provision for an objection to be made to the Race Classification Board should an individual feel aggrieved by his/her classification. However, no clear rules were ever spelled out with regard to how far back one's ancestory had to be traced to ensure that the individual was a "pure white" or a "pure black" person (Barnard et al., 1986).

The Population Registration Act was finally repealed by President F.W. de Klerk in 1991 and was replaced by the Population Registration Act, Repeal Act No 114 of 1991, commencement date 28 June 1991 (Statutes of the Republic of South Africa, 1991).

3.3.2 The Group Areas Act, Act 41 of 1950

The issue of land with regard to the indigenous African people in South Africa was historically settled primarily by means of military defeats. However, Omar (1989) contends that land ownership by the small but prosperous Indian community began to shape land legislation from as early as 1884 when the Transvaal Chamber of Commerce complained about trade competition between the Indian community and Europeans. In 1885 the first formal group areas legislation came into existence in the form of Law 3 of 1885 of the Transvaal which provided that :

> "Asiatics could not become citizens and were consequently not entitled to the franchise nor could they own fixed property;
>
> they had to reside and trade in locations set apart for them;
>
> the government was empowered to set aside locations" (Omar, p.515).

In 1896 the Natal legislature deprived Indians of the vote and in 1898 the Transvaal Gold Laws prevented coloured persons from becoming licenced to own shops, houses or dwellings (Omar, 1989).

Prior to the Union of South Africa in 1910, blacks were allowed to buy land in the Cape and Natal but were prohibited from acquiring land in the Orange Free State and Transvaal. In 1910 the very first Act of the Union created a Department of Native Affairs

which was to take over the administration of the large black population.

In 1913 the Black Land Act introduced the principle of territorial division between blacks and whites and provided that blacks could only buy and sell land outside of designated native areas, subject to the strict approval of the Governor-General (Keyter, 1990; Omar, 1989).

In 1946 the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act was introduced by General Smuts in response to mounting pressure from whites for residential segregation in Durban. This Act sought to offer representation on the one hand while restricting Indians from owning and occupying property in certain areas (Keyter, 1990; Omar, 1989).

After coming into power in 1948 the National Party government mandated two Asiatic Land Tenure Laws Amendment Committees to investigate the issue of land in South Africa. Omar (1989) outlines the recommendations submitted in the final report :

> "... the replacement of Act 28 of 1946 by a comprehensive Act which should apply throughout the then Union of South Africa;
>
> that the population of South Africa should be classified into racial groups for purposes of the proposed legislation;
>
> that exclusive areas should be established for each racial group;
>
> that a certain measure of local self-government be given to members of the group concerned in such areas subject to the supervision of neighbouring European local authorities;

> that the group areas should be small relative to the whole country and the rest of the country should then become a controlled area in order to curb movement outside group areas;
>
> the establishment of a land tenure advisory board, its membership being confined to Europeans" (p.519).

As such these recommendations formed the basis for the Group Areas Act, Act 41 of 1950. According to Rousseau (1960) this Act replaced all earlier legislation which had been "frankly discriminatory" particularly with regard to Asiatics. Rousseau considered the new legislation to be in theory "completely undiscriminatory", although in practice it was inevitable that the white group would find itself better off than other races since the whites had already built up and developed certain areas. These select areas would inevitably became white group areas because other races did not have "the economic and financial ability to own, occupy and maintain them" (p.8).

Mesthrie (1993) maintains that the primary task of the Act was to provide and establish separate areas that would be used exclusively by one racial group for residential and business purposes. This implied that "past patterns of residential settlement which had led to mixed areas had to be reversed and neighbourhoods had to be sorted out anew" (p.179). Since this process would take time, a complementary objective of the Act was to preserve the racial purity of a particular area from further influx by other racial groups. Once an area had been proclaimed for one race, individuals belonging to any other race became "disqualified persons" and were issued permits to remain in the area for a specified period of time, after which they had to move from that area to one designated for their own group. The Act made provision for an inspectorate who would ensure that the Act was complied with and penalties which ranged from fines, to jail sentences , to expropriation of property could be enforced.

Since areas were defined and proclaimed according to racial groups the Act provided for the definition of three main groups, namely, the white group, the native group and the coloured group. Hiemstra (1953) discusses these groups and notes that the Act made provision for sub-groups of the native and coloured groups but not of the white group. Sub-groups could exist in certain areas for example, the Malays who lived in Cape Town. This group was only recognised in a particular area, so if an individual moved to another area they would become a member of the coloured group (Hiemstra, 1953; Mesthrie, 1993).

Furthermore the Act placed the onus on the individual to prove that he did not belong to a group which by appearance and general acceptance he belonged (Hiemstra, 1953).

The actual definition of the white group was as follows :

> "Any person;
> (a) who in appearance is obviously a white person; or
> (b) who is generally accepted as a white person.
> But from the white group is excluded
> (a) any person who is generally accepted as a coloured person, although in appearance he is obviously a white person; and
> (b) any white woman
> (i) between whom and a man who is a member of the native or the coloured groups (or sub-groups) there exists a marriage; or
> (ii) who cohabits with a member of the native or the coloured group (or sub-group); and

> (c) any white man
> (i) between whom and a woman who is a member of the native or coloured group (or sub-group) there exists a marriage; or
> (ii) who cohabits with a member of the native or the coloured group (or sub-group)" (Van Reenen, 1962, p.119-120).

The position regarding women was that she would essentially become a member of the group of the man with whom she consorted or married if he was of a different race. She could revert back to her orginal group should the relationship end for any reason but only if she was accepted back into that group. A white man who consorted or married a non-white woman could "not attract that woman into the white group" but would have to become a member of the non-white group for the duration of the relationship. As such the white group was "more exclusive" than any other group (Van Reenen, 1962).

Rousseau (1960) notes that children of mixed unions were not dealt with in the Act and since in appearance they may not be the same as either parent, the general acceptance rule would have to be applied in their case. Rousseau contends that the Act was simply an attempt to legalise a voluntary trend of people of different races to congregate together in a spontaneous manner and was therefore not contradictory to the historical tendency of the peoples of South Africa. He cites the example of the Malay Quarter of Cape Town which developed naturally long before any legislation with regard to group areas came into effect.

On the other hand, Omar (1989) strongly objects to the principles of the Act on the following basis :

> "... the Group Areas Act is the involuntary segregation of the races in South Africa, on the basis of colour (and not culture) by statutory compulsion ...

> The principle (of the Act) is a contravention of the ... principles of equity, justice, dignity ... (and) freedom of the individual.
>
> The principle has no true overall constitutional legitimacy since it is not accepted by a large part of the population which is denied a constitutional right of redress.
>
> The enactment of the principle has had the result of making criminals of people who wish to live in residences freely chosen by themselves. Moreover, the prohibition is based purely on their race not, for example, their conduct. The basis of crime lies not in the act but in the racial identity of the actor" (p.519).

Mesthrie (1993) concludes that the presentation of legislative history obscures the experiences of the individuals involved who were "humiliatingly evicted from homes and neighbourhoods". By way of example he notes that when Pageview in Johannesburg, an area where the majority of residents were Indians and coloureds, was declared a white area, there was no place for these individuals to go. They were issued with temporary permits allowing them to remain in Pageview and had to live with the uncertainty of eviction for many years. In early 1959, Lenasia was developed for Indians and had at that stage, no electricity, no water-borne sewerage, no postal service and only one public telephone for the Indians who were settled there.

Legislation with regard to group areas was amended over the years and the National Party government introduced the concept of Free Settlement Areas where any racial group could reside. The Financial Mail (1989) reported that this legislation was an attempt to legitimise the so-called "grey areas" which were already at that stage growing in number.

The Group Areas Act was finally revoked by President F.W. de Klerk of the National Party in 1991 and was replaced by the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act, No 108 of 1991, commencement date 30 June 1991 (Statutes of the Republic of South Africa, 1991).

3.3.3 History of the Immorality Act and the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act

From the early years of the Cape Colony in South Africa, slavery of Africans or people brought from India and the East Indies appears to have occurred. The settlers had few women with them and as such sexual connections were inevitably formed with other races, both slave- and free women. In addition to illicit or casual relations there were regular unions and marriages between white men and women of other race groups. In 1678, however, the Council issued a proclamation forbidding the practice of concubinage of female slaves. This was followed by legislation in 1685 which forbade marriage between slave-women and white men. However, this legislation was not effective and interracial marriages continued to occur (Henriques, 1975).

But, Henriques (1975) contends that :

> "... the halcyon days of inter-racial sex, at any rate from the European point of view, were destroyed by the advent of the Voortrekkers. Their character seems to have been bounded by unadulterated Calvinism and colour prejudice. For them a black person was already damned because of his colour. The latter associated with sin and evil, both anathema to your

> religious Boer. To him can be attributed the responsibility for modern South Africa's view on race. As a member of God's elect it is a distinction and honour he would welcome" (p.130-131).

Henriques claims that the effects of the "Boer philosophy" began with a law passed in the Cape Colony in 1902 and later extended to other parts of South Africa, which prohibited sexual relations between blacks and white prostitutes. Henriques does not mention that in 1902 the Cape Colony was in fact a British Colony and not a Boer Republic. Findlay (1936) elaborates by noting that the Cape Act 36 of 1902 and the Orange Free State Ordinance 11 of 1903 only prohibit European women from having sexual relations with an "aboriginal native for purposes of gain" (p.6). The Natal Legislation Act 21 of 1903 is similarly phrased but uses the term "coloured" male which is later defined as being "a Hottentot, Coolie, Bushman, Lascar or Kaffir" (p.6). The Transvaal Ordinance 46 of 1903 passed a law restraining European women only, that is, excluding males, from sexual relations with other race groups irrespective of whether the union was for purposes of gain or not. In 1927 the Immorality Act prohibited all sexual relations between blacks and whites.

Findlay (1936) contends that law interprets public opinion and notes that there appeared to be a reluctance to prosecute under the Immorality Act of 1927 except for notorious cases. He suspects that the reason for this was that the Act merely punished those who would transgress in any event albeit secretly in defiance of convention. In other words the Act did not serve as a deterrent since the idea of race mixing was considered abhorrent to society at the time.

Legislation alone however, cannot account for the social response to the issues of race and interracial relationships. Dover (1937) contends that among certain classes of Eurasians there was a need to choose wives of the fairest skin in order to "improve the

breed" (p.27). In South Africa, Findlay (1936) noted this same trend with regard to the fact that many coloured women preferred to marry white husbands. The local statistics of 1921 reflect about three thousand more men than women among the Cape Coloured. This cannot entirely be contributed to a natural ratio and must be affected by the greater ease with which Eurafrican women cross the line. Findlay offers no explanation as to the reason why it is easier for coloured women to "pass for white" (p.199) than it is for men or why coloured men did not try to "improve the breed" by marrying white women.

Gist and Dworkin (1972) note that coloureds in the Republic of South Africa display a marked bias in favour of whites and a widespread tendency to be prejudiced against Indians and blacks. Although the cultural parity between whites and coloureds could influence this, the author's view is that it cannot account entirely for this tendency. During their research on the Durban coloured population, they found that this group of people saw themselves as an "appendage" of the white population group although they did nevertheless espouse a separate identity. They viewed themselves as having increased status because they possessed "some white blood" and maintained a "decent, white" lifestyle (p.36). However, they did acknowledge that they were discriminated against by whites except for the few coloureds who could pass into the white population group. Most of the coloureds in the study appeared to approve of this practice and considered those who were able to do so as fortunate. Although the sample studied maintained that they were proud of belonging to the coloured population group, they often had difficulty explaining why this was so. The reasons that were provided had to do with the fact that they had "some white blood" or that at least their status was better than that of the blacks or Indians in the Republic of South Africa. On the whole the researchers concluded that the coloureds belonged to their race group with reluctance and would have

been happier if they could simply have been absorbed into the white population group where they felt that culturally they belonged (Gist & Dworkin, 1972).

Findlay, (undated, circa 1930's) in his book "Races in Chaos" aims to provide a directive against the propagation of miscegenation and quotes various scriptural admonitions against this doctrine as well as the opinions of men of science. In the foreword, Professor O.S. Heyns states the following :

> "Today the world problem of race seems to be revolving round the fact of inter-marriage and the mixing of races. If we believe miscegenation between white and black is as between different species, the issue will be hybrid and should not be condoned. Whether the black race is primitive man or pre-Adamic or not, he is not discussed in scripture, there is nothing to favour such miscegenation, nor anything in science to support it; in fact all round there is a great deal which condemns it" (p.8).

Findlay may have been reflecting the current views of the white population in the Union of South Africa at the time. As detailed earlier, legislation passed around that time certainly did not condone the intermingling of the white race with other races. Findlay's strong views on the subject are illustrated in the following extract from his book :

> "Intermarriages and cohabitation between the families of the earth has no authoritative backing. Science does not support it and Almighty God certainly does not advocate it as a means of achieving world harmony and peace.

Those who in the face of the evidence of scripture, anthropologist, physiologist and biologist still persist in propagating the uniformity of the races as the means of achieving unity in man are by their policy courting disaster. This policy in the end will find the world peopled by one conglomerate mixture of unstable, disease-prone people.

Is this their happiness?

The picture is surely repugnant to all, irrespective of skin colour. While some recognise and acknowledge the abomination of miscegenation they nevertheless pursue their policy of complete integration. Where will this lead? The danger of integration lies in the fallen nature of man and how gullible is man to believe that the consequences of integration will stop when the social barriers are down.

Integration is the first step to miscegenation.

With the barrier of social segregation down, those who are held in check by the possible social outcome of the cohabitation with other races will now freely mix and a section of hybrids will eventuate whom neither the white nor the coloured races will own. Just as in the case of the direct propogation of miscegenation, the advocating of racial integration, in view of the nature and character of man today, can only culminate in misery and suffering of an unwanted mixed breed of people" (p.64-65).

Shortly after coming into power, the National Party Government consolidated much of the earlier legislation and introduced the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, Act 55 of 1949. Olivier, Barnard, Cronjé and Nathan (1980) note that the Act provided the following directive :

> "As from the date of commencement of this Act a marriage between a European and a non-European may not be solemnized, and any such marriage solemnized in contravention of the provisions of this section shall be void and of no effect ..." (p.207).

This was not only applicable to marriages solemnized within South Africa but also included mixed marriages which took place outside of South Africa whereby one of the parties was a South African citizen. As such, a couple would not be able to leave the country to get married and then return as their marriage would not be recognised. Mixed marriages between all other non-white race groups were recognised.

In 1957 the government introduced the Immorality Act, Act 23 of 1957 of which Section 16 prohibited all sexual interaction between white and coloured persons. The Act as quoted by Hardie and Hardford (1960) specified that :

> "(a) Any white female person who -
> (i) has or attempts to have unlawful carnal intercourse with a coloured male person; or
> (ii) commits or attempts to commit with a coloured male person any immoral or indescent act; or
> (iii) entices, solicits, or importunes any coloured male person to have unlawful carnal intercourse with her; or

(iv) entices, solicits or importunes any coloured male person to the commission of any immoral or indecent act; ...
shall be guilty of an offence" (p.44-45).

The Act further placed the same restrictions on coloured females, white males and coloured males. The Act defined coloureds as any Non-European person. As such all sexual activity between the races was strictly forbidden.

Boberg (1977) comments on the "chameleon-like" quality of race in that definitions of race were not consistent from one Act to another and as such an individual could be considered as white for the purposes of one Act but may be defined as coloured in a different Act. This was as a result of certain Acts incorporating their own criteria for classification into race groups.

3.3.3.1 Media coverage

The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act became a contentious issue and during the late seventies the government came under increasing pressure to abandon them. As early as 1979 Mostert (1986) noted that there was speculation regarding the repeal of these two Acts. The media reported on the events as follows :

The Argus (26.09.1979)

The Prime Minister, Mr P.W. Botha said that the government would consider any positive proposals to improve these laws. He did not believe that mixed marriage was a sin but that did not mean that such marriages were desirable as they would cause significant problems for the children of such unions.

The Argus (17.12.1982)

In August of 1981 a delegation of church leaders had met with Mr Botha to discuss rescinding the laws. Mr Botha had asked the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town to canvass the opinion of all the churches. The Archbishop reported that all the churches supported the removal of the laws with the exception of the Hervormde Kerk and the Nederduits Gereformeerde Sendingkerk. Furthermore, the Anglican church had decided to marry mixed race couples despite the law and ministers would perform the ceremony and declare the couple married in the eyes of God.

The Cape Times (22.04.1983)

After two years of indepth discussion Mr Botha said that he had come to the conclusion that the churches were divided on the issue of the laws and suggested that the churches should provide a unanimous decision with regard to the laws.

The Argus (22.04.1983)

A moderator of the Nederduits Gereformeerde Sendingkerk said that it was incorrect for Mr Botha to say that churches were divided since the one side consisted of the Nederduits Gereformeerde Sendingkerk and the Hervormde Kerk and the other side consisted of all the mainstream churches. The president of the South African Council of Churches said that the Prime Minister did not normally seek consensus before implementing legislation and that if he sincerely believed that the laws were untenable he should change them.

Eastern Province Herald (25.04.1983)

The Prime Minister faced the dilemma of having to prosecute clergymen who have declared that they will marry mixed-race couples despite the law.

The Citizen (30.06.1983)

A select committee which would include all parties in Parliament, would be appointed to investigate improving the said legislation.

The Cape Times (11.07.1984)

It was pointed out that there were fundamental problems to scrapping the laws. Difficulties would arise as to where the couple would live, where the children would go to school, which hospitals they could attend and so forth. The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr. A. Treurnicht was opposed to the repeal of the laws.

Rand Daily Mail (14.07.1984)

Bishop Desmond Tutu said that the repeal of the laws was not a priority amongst blacks and that there were far more important issues for the Government to address like the scrapping of apartheid itself and the "mysterious deaths in detention". The South African Institute of Race Relations said that the legislation should be repealed for the following reasons :

* The decision to marry or have sexual relations with an adult of another race should be that of the individual and not the Government.

* The laws made criminals of people who would not be considered as such in any other country.

* Mixed-race couples were compelled to live in another country or live with the threat of prosecution.

* The existence of these laws resulted in hostility towards the Government. This antagonism was spread to the police and the judicial system for upholding the laws.

* The legislation brought South Africa into disrepute by the international community.

The Natal Mercury (14.07.1984)

The South African Institute of Race Relations reported that between 1974 and 1982, 1 916 people were prosecuted under Section 16 of the Immorality Act and 1 586 were convicted. Prior to 1974 statistics are unavailable. Furthermore, many cases of suicide were reported by people convicted under the Act.

City Press (15.07.1984)

The committee, while recognising that the Acts should be scrapped, came to the conclusion that their mandate did not enable them to recommend whether the Acts should be scrapped or not. The Government has now enlarged their scope and terms of reference.

The Star (20.08.1984)

A study by the Human Sciences Research Council reported that the majority of the Afrikaans-speaking community still favoured apartheid. More than 90 percent were in support of separate education while almost 85 percent favoured separate amenities for different races. Over 92 percent approved of separate voters' rolls. Nearly 80 percent believed that the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and the Immorality Act should not be abolished. Almost 77 percent were in favour of the Group Areas Act and close to 80 percent supported the black homelands policy.

Fifty-five percent of English respondents were in favour of separate schools and 50 percent supported separate amenities. Sixty-four percent opted for separate voters' rolls. About 40 percent thought that the Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts were acceptable and 43 percent supported the Group Areas Act. Roughly 60 percent approved of the black homelands policy.

Less than 25 percent of coloureds and Indians agreed with separate schools and amenities and supported the Mixed Marriages, Immorality and Group Areas Acts. Twenty-seven percent of coloureds and 30 percent of Indians favoured the creation of black homelands.

Natal Post (13.02.1985)

The cabinet was unanimous that a decision to repeal the laws be reached as soon as possible.

The Star (15.02.1985)

The leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr. E. Terre' Blanche told an audience of 400 that the scrapping of the laws signalled the end of white minority rights and that the white man's identity would follow.

The Argus (16.04.1985)

The Government announced the scrapping of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and the abolition of the sex and colour clause, that is, Section 16 of the Immorality Act.

The Sunday Star (28.04.1985)

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr. A. Treurnicht and the leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr. J. Marais shared a platform earlier in the week in Pretoria before an audience of 3 000 to berate the abolition of the laws.

> " 'Consider the consequences' thundered Jaap Marais, 'if your black in-laws were to visit you at your home'. Treurnicht's cue : 'Ma-in-law could work in the kitchen, while pa-in-law could help out in the garden'.
> Screeches of mirth nearly brought the roof down. 'And if,' continued Marais, 'if the Government feels it can no longer interfere in the love lives of the community why are there

> laws preventing a brother marrying a sister, a man having two wives, two people of the same sex tying the knot?'
> 'There are laws against theft and murder - not because the majority of people are thieves and murderers - but to protect the community against the few bad apples in the box.' "

The Star (16.04.1985)

The United States welcomed the news of the scrapping of the laws which was carried on many television and radio newscasts as well as making front-page headlines in the press.

The Citizen (17.04.1985)

Britain congratulated the South African government and considered that they deserved praise for a genuine change of heart which was not borne from pressure and boycotts. There was prominent coverage in all forms of media.

Daily Dispatch (18.04.1985)

The Transkei's Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information called on the Goverment to scrap discriminatory laws more quickly and said that the scrapping of the two Acts was nothing more than cosmetic because it had done nothing to improve the standard of living for blacks.

Financial Mail (19.04.1985)

The government should be given its due for taking political courage and repealing the Acts. However, a huge upsurge in mixed marriages is not expected simply because legal restrictions have been removed.

Several cartoons on the issue of mixed marriages appeared in the newspapers (See Appendix B).

3.3.3.2 Repeal of the Acts

The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act were finally repealed by Prime Minister P.W. Botha in 1985 and were replaced by Act No. 72 of 1985, the Immorality and Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Amendment Act, commencement date 19 June 1985. Its purpose was to amend the provisions of the Immorality Act of 1957 and to repeal the Prohibition of Mixed Mariages Act of 1949. Furthermore, the Act sought to legitimise interracial marriages which had taken place in other countries or by religious ceremonies only.

The Act as cited in the Statutes of the Republic of South Africa Criminal Law and Procedure (1985) provided that :

> "Any of the parties to a marriage which, but for the provisions of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, 1949, would have been a valid marriage in the Republic may with the consent of the other party or, if the other party is deceased, without such consent apply to the Director-General : Home Affairs for a written direction ... he shall direct in writing that the marriage in question shall for all purposes be a valid marriage in the Republic, and the marriage in question shall thereupon be deemed to have been such a valid marriage with effect from the date upon which it was contracted" (p.631).

In other words, legislation prohibiting mixed marriages was only repealed as late as 1985 and the Republic of South Africa remained behind world trends on this issue for approximately 20 years (Ibrahim & Schroeder, 1990).

The current process of scrapping racially discriminatory legislation gained momentum until in 1993 when an interim Bill of Rights was established. Van Oosten (1991) reflects

that this Bill proposes amongst other things, the right of all individuals to equality before the law and that there should be no discrimination on the basis of race, colour, ethnic origin, social standing, sex, religion and so forth.

3.4 Conclusion

This overview briefly provides the historical and legal background for the study. Although much of the information is theoretical it is hoped that the case studies as discussed in chapters 8 to 14 will provide the psychological component which will highlight the emotional effects of this legacy.

In the following chapter a literature review on mixed-race marriage is presented.

CHAPTER 4

LITERATURE REVIEW : MIXED-RACE MARRIAGE

4.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews literature and research with regard to mixed-race marriage. Areas such as spouse selection preferences, perceived causes for interracial unions, patterns and consequences will be covered as well as attitudes towards the phenomenon of mixed-race marriage.

4.2 Trends and Patterns in Mixed-Race Marriage

The question has been posed whether there exists a certain profile of an individual more likely to enter into a mixed marriage. Several researchers have investigated this subject and their findings are discussed below.

Lee and Yamanak (1990) found that men and women who married out tended to be younger in Asian/American couples. Occupation and income also played a role in intermarriage between Asians and Americans with mixed marriages tending to occur more among professional, higher income individuals. Bennett, Bloom and Craig (1989) found divergent patterns amongst black and white homogeneous marriages. In contrast to Lee and Yamanak's findings, the latter researchers found that the marriage rate was declining particularly amongst the better educated individuals. However, employment status was positively associated with the propensity to marry. Schmitt in Van den Berghe (1972) found in his study on interracial marriage in Hawaii that blue-collar workers were far more likely to intermarry than white-collar workers. In contrast again, Lee (1988) in her research into intermarriage in Singapore, identified higher rates of mixed marriage to be associated with higher educational attainments and higher income individuals. Unlike the

previously quoted researchers, Lee attempts to explain the reason by hypothesising that the educational system imparts a common set of values and is largely conducted in English which would serve to lower the boundaries of communication. Lee also found that ethnicity had an effect in that certain cultures such as the Malays and Indians tended to marry out more often than the Chinese. Reasons offered for this centre around the explanation that Malays and Indians are more similar to each other than they are to the Chinese.

Tucker and Mitchel-Kernan (1990) note that females tend to marry out at a higher rate than males for every major racial group in America except for blacks, where males tended to intermarry at a higher rate than females. In addition, the interracially married were generally younger and a greater age gap existed between the spouses. They were more likely to have been married before and furthermore, intermarriage was more likely to occur between couples living in urban rather than rural areas. The researchers hypothesise that individuals are more likely to be exposed to different races in cities and will therefore inevitably meet a wider range of suitable partners. They also hypothesise that social controls may exert more pressure on first marriages than on subsequent marriages. The age difference is explained by the possibility that individuals who intermarry may be more tolerant of differences generally and as such would not be concerned with a large age gap between the partners. The tendency for mixed couples to be younger was not explained. With regard to the trend for females to marry out more often than males, the authors note that women in general select partners on the basis of their earning capacity while males select females on the basis of physical attraction. There appears to be a shortage of white males in America which could account for the fact that black males are being chosen as marriage partners for white females.

Contradictions and differing views appear to plague research in its attempt to define the

profile of an individual most inclined to marry out. As such it would seem that there are other factors at play in spouse selection although there may well be a pattern in existence. The following section deals with the dynamics of choosing a marriage partner for homogeneous and mixed-race couples.

4.3 Spouse Selection

Buss et al. (1990) undertook to study the criteria for mate selection across 37 cultures in 33 countries located on six continents and five islands. The total sample consisted of 9 474 people. South Africa was included in the study with a group of whites and Zulu-speaking blacks making up two of the 37 cultures. In general, mutual love and attraction was cited as the most valued characteristic for spouse selection, irrespective of sex or culture. Other highly rated characteristics included dependability, emotional stability, maturity and a pleasing disposition. There were several sex and cultural differences. Men tended to value appearance and good housekeeping more highly than females who showed a preference over males for values such as earning capacity and ambition. Certain cultures valued personality characteristics more highly than others. An exciting personality was rated as important by samples in France, Brazil, United States, Japan, Spain and Ireland, while the South African Zulu, China, India and Iran samples placed less emphasis on this trait. The authors did not address the issue of mixed-race relationships per se but concluded that despite certain cultural and sex differences in spouse selection, strong universal commonalities were found across almost all cultures. Buss et al. (1990) conclude that a degree of unity exists which transcends sexual, racial, ethnic, and geographic diversity. This would imply that despite racial differences, partners may in general be motivated by the same needs when establishing a relationship.

However, Simpson and Yinger (1985) found that more individuals were involved in interracial dating than in marriage. The assumption is that while at college or university young people mix freely and are exposed to individuals from a wide range of cultures. Exploration of different experiences may be part of college mores but individuals who do eventually intermarry tend to be fairly similar in social, educational and occupational characteristics.

There is a notion that individuals who intermarry are somehow different from the rest of the population. This is evidenced by the number of researchers who have attempted to explore the perceived causes for mixed-race marriages. Cerroni-Long (1984) presents a typology of efficient causes for intermarriage to occur. None of the causes discussed excludes any of the others and the more causes that are in effect, the higher the probability of intermarriage. Three generic causes are identified, each with specifically related types. These are presented below :

"The norm (of endogamy) is not felt as binding.

* Personal interpretation of the norm (eg.: Attention to agathogamy[1] but not to homogamy).
* Exceptional circumstances (eg.: war, temporary residence abroad, emigration).
* Breaking or loosening of ties with the original group of affiliation (eg.: Loss of faith, acculturation).

Breaking the norm allows (the individual) to gain specific rewards.

* Desire for socio-cultural or economic rewards.
* Desire for psychological rewards.

1 Term coined by Merton to indicate marriages that conform to the norms of a small group but may not be completely congruent with those of the larger group within which the smaller group falls.

Personal deviance

* Desire to fulfil personal expectations.
* Desire to confirm personal image of self.
* Mental problems :
  - feelings of inadequacy.
  - alienation from and negative feelings toward one's group.
  - guilt toward members of subordinate groups.
  - rebellion to authority and or pressure of parents or peers.
  - aggressive feelings toward members of out-groups.
  - revengeful feelings toward dominant group " (Cerroni-Long, 1984, p.35).

The author notes that the last category of "personal deviancy" does not necessarily indicate pathological abnormality although that may be the case in some instances. However, individuals may simply identify themselves as adventurous, non-conformist or liberal and as such not feel restricted by the mores of the larger group.

A study of 20 mixed-race families in England by Benson (1981) also discusses the dynamics of spouse choice. Benson highlights the finding that many of the black respondents were products of disrupted childhoods as evidenced by the death or desertion of either one or both parents. There were also a large number of respondents who had emigrated from their country of origin and had settled in England. The researcher comments that although not all of the individuals described these experiences as negative, they did however serve to detach the person from their family of origin and thus weaken the bond of endogamy. In addition, several of the black respondents were attracted to the English culture which they experienced in a positive light and were thus more inclined to mix with British people. A few of the respondents had been encouraged

by their parents and extended family to socialise with other race groups. Mixed marriages were not uncommon in these families. Among a small number of the white respondents, signs of rebellion could be detected and these individuals expressed the need to free themselves from the prejudices of authority figures. They also tended to show rejection of the mainstream values. As such, Benson has provided practical examples which confirm some of the causal factors of Cerroni-Long's theoretical model.

Baker Cottrell (1990) in her review of the literature on cross-national marriages also found support for the theories of Cerroni-Long. Many studies as quoted in Baker Cottrell's research included samples of mixed-race marriages that had taken place during war time or colonial presence in another country. Other studies reviewed by the researcher discussed individuals who described themselves as emancipated and wanting to move beyond their culture of origin without really rejecting it. Also discussed were individuals who had been exposed to many cultures, whose families had previously intermarried and therefore had a greater tendency to enter into mixed marriages themselves.

Causes for interracial love as discussed by Ross (1988) include three general categories, that of race-related motives, marginality and non-race-related motives. Under the heading of race-related motives, Ross identifies several factors which could include feelings of rebelliousness, to finding other races more interesting or appealing, as in the case when white women/men are viewed as status symbols or black women/men are viewed as more self-sufficient or sexual. Individuals who are marginal might find themselves on the outside of their own cultural group by virtue of education, migration or other factors and as such may find that they are more readily accepted into other cultural groups. (The concept of marginality is discussed more fully in the following chapter). Non-race-related motives would include love and compatability. Ross suggests that the majority of interracial relationships are founded on the basis of love and as such are essentially similar to intraracial relationships.

However, Ross (1988) as well as other researchers do not mention that same-race couples marry for a variety of reasons other than love and compatability, which could include many of the factors as discussed for mixed-race marriages.

A study by Bizman (1987) found that love was generally cited as the most important reason for marriage. The researcher had hypothesised that observers would give greater weight to love as a marital cause for interracial couples than for intraracial couples but found that in fact the opposite was true. Participants in the study generally considered mixed-race couples to be less compatible than same-race couples.

South and Messner (1986) found that equality with respect to educational, socio-economic levels and the like, was a stronger predictor of racial intermarriage, outweighing factors such as group size and segregation. These findings could have implications for South Africa which may indicate that as other race groups increase their standard of living, as well as improve educational levels and become more westernised, an increase in intermarriage with the white population group might result.

4.4 Adjustment

As in any marriage each partner must define the pattern of their relationship and certain adjustments must typically be made in order for the marriage to succeed. Cerroni-Long (1984) identifies the following generic and specific stress factors which could have an effect on mixed-race couples :

"Personal : (Stress deriving from personal problems or from interaction between spouses).

* Cultural differences between the spouses.
* Difficulty in interpersonal communication between the spouses.
* Discrepancy (between) reality (and) expected balance (of) assets and liabilities of each spouse.
* Unbalanced distribution of external stress between spouses.
* Sense of guilt about one's marital choice.
* Sense of alienation and isolation.
* Intensification of mental problems as a consequence of marriage.

External : (Stress deriving from the interaction between spouses and outsiders).

* Society's hostility and ostracism.
* Familial disapproval and/or rejection.
* Discrepancy in attitudes towards relatives.
* Vicarious suffering through offspring's problems of adjustment in the community.

Random : (Stress deriving from unforeseeable personal or historical events or from processes of socio-cultural change).

* Personal :
  - change in personal affiliation for one or both spouses.
  - change in environment.

* External :
  - socio-cultural change (eg.: Ethnic revilalization movements, change in the social status of women, decrease in the power of institutionalized authority)" (p.41).

These factors may operate in isolation or many of the factors may be found simultaneously. Cerroni-Long hypothesised that the couple would have to find ways of resolving these issues if the marriage was to thrive.

In relation to this Biesanz and Smith quoted in Van den Berghe (1972) mention several areas of adjustment which need to be negotiated by the couple. These include language, in cases where the first language of each spouse might differ, cuisine, religion which could present problems if each spouse is strongly committed to a particular religion, as well as the institutionalised roles of husband and wife that each partner might hold.

On the question of dual culture marriage Rohrlich (1988) focusses on adjustment analysis rather than on problems encountered, as has been a starting point of earlier research. She discusses five adjustment patterns in dual culture marriage as outlined by Tseng (1977).

* "One-way adjustment" : One partner espouses the cultural values of the other.

* "Alternative adjustment" : Partners consciously choose between the two sets of cultural lifestyles.

* "Mixing adjustment" : The couple agree on a lifestyle incorporating aspects of both cultures.

* "Mid-point compromise" : By mutual agreement a solution between the respective patterns is found.

* "Creative adjustment" : A new behaviour pattern is chosen to replace the respective culture of each spouse (p.39).

This theory is likely to have important implications for biracial children in that the adjustment patterns chosen by parents would probably influence their child rearing practices.

Imamura (1990) echoes many of these sentiments in her research on how foreign wives cope with marginality in international marriages. She concludes that participation in the broader society, forming friendships and local networks, as well as learning the language of the country, all help to foster assimilation into the foreign society. Respondents in the study all indicated the desire to raise their children biculturally and maintain friendships with other mixed families.

Several of these issues may not be exclusive to mixed-race couples, since same race couples may come from different cultures and speak different languages as in English and Afrikaans-speaking, white South Africans. Similarly, roles and expectations could differ even when couples are completely homogeneous with regard to all aspects, including religion, education, social class and the like.

4.5 Divorce

A number of researchers have attempted to assess the stability and endurance of mixed marriages and again conflicting views result. Waldron, Ching and Fair (1986) analysed 200 cases of divorce in Hawaii and report that ethnically mixed marriages tend to fail more often than homogeneous marriages, particularly within the first seven years. The major

problems of such marriages were identified as poor communication and emotional distance between the partners with a resulting cultural and value incompatability. Other contributing factors included the husband having an extra-marital affair and physical abuse of the wife.

Paris and Guzder (1989) also conclude that exogamous marriages are less successful than endogamous marriages but cite the cause as a lack of support from the extended family and the community. Continued conflict with the family of origin on either side takes an emotional toll which can be exacerbated when grandchildren are born. The authors present three case studies in support of these findings.

Other researchers maintain that difficulties emerge when mixed couples assume that they are more similar to each other than they actually are, which results in conflict regarding gender roles, religion, cultural rituals and various other issues. The general view is that due to the high failure rate of interracial marriages, these couples should be considered to be an at-risk group. A counselling approach should focus on encouraging an understanding of cultural differences and values (Brown, 1987; Ibrahim & Schroeder, 1990).

Weller and Rofé (1988) discuss a number of studies on the issue of mixed and homogeneous divorce rates, noting that some researchers have found that mixed marriages are less stable and show less marital satisfaction while others have found the opposite. Monahan as quoted in Weller and Rofé, identified black/white marriages as more stable than black homogeneous marriages and black husbands with white wives had lower divorce rates than white homogeneous couples. These findings were repeated in other studies. Weller and Rofé examined 50 mixed and homogeneous families living in Israel and discovered that marital happiness was more dependent oneducational level and number of children than on ethnic differences. There was no significant difference between mixed and homogeneous marriages with regard to marital satisfaction. However,

couples with higher levels of education and fewer children showed greater marital happiness, with lower divorce rates. The authors contend that their study focussed on an index of marital quality rather than stability. As such couples were asked to complete questionnaires on aspects of personal happiness which may have resulted in more positive views. Furthermore, the couples were not necessarily of differing race groups and all of the respondents were of the Jewish faith. Religious differences would therefore not have played a role.

In his study on interethnic marriage, Bizman (1987) found that these marriages were just as durable as those that were intra-ethnic. However, public expectation tended to view interethnic couples as less compatible. In this vein Baker Cottrell (1990) remarks that, despite the pervasive perception that cross-national marriages are divorce prone, in her review of the literature there were several indications that the breakdown of the marriage could be attributed to conflict over finances and alcohol abuse, rather than cultural differences.

Simpson and Yinger (1985) report that in America, interracial marriages are less likely to succeed than homogeneous marriages but point out that many mixed-race couples are remarried and divorce rates for second or subsequent marriages are generally higher than for first marriages.

It would seem that mixed marriages are generally regarded as less stable than homogeneous marriages with more studies finding support for this view. It is not clear whether race in itself could be identified as the destabilising factor. (A discussion on homogeneous and interracial divorce rates for South Africa is presented in chapter 6).

4.6 Public Attitude towards Mixed Marriage

Black Americans reported more favourable views towards interracial marriage than did white Americans, with men tending to be more tolerant than women. These are the

findings on attitudes towards mixed-race marriages of a study of 120 university students. The general conclusion of the research was that white female students did not approve of interracial marriage (Sones & Holston, 1988).

Religious intermarriage was similarly viewed negatively in both Northen Ireland and Pakistan with such couples at times becoming the target for political violence, particularly Catholic/Protestant marriages in Northern Ireland. It would seem that these couples are viewed as contrary to the values of the larger society which remains unable to resolve its religious differences. However, middle class respondents, although disapproving, were somewhat more tolerant than lower class and rural respondents (Donnan, 1990).

Simpson and Yinger (1985) comment that opinion polls in America have shown a marked change in public attitude towards mixed-race marriage over the last 20 years. A national poll in 1965 indicated that almost 50 percent of respondents felt that interracial marriage should be regarded as a crime. Some six years later views were more tolerant but respondents expressed concern with respect to the success of such relationships. In 1982 a national poll indicated that about 30 percent of the adult population still felt that there should be laws against racial intermarriage. Reasons for opposing such marriages as given by black respondents were that black partners in mixed-race marriages showed a lack of racial pride; whites could not be trusted as they would ostracise black family members, while black females resented having to compete with white females for black husbands. Reasons for this last response as cited in another study by Blackwell (1977) quoted in Simpson and Yinger were that there is an unequal ratio between black males and females, in particular well-educated black males who tend to be favoured by white females. In addition, the pool of available black men have been further depleted by the disproportionate number of black male prisoners. These factors would tend to fuel resentment by black females towards black/white intermarriage which generally consists of a union between a black male and white female.

4.7 Attitude of Family towards Mixed-Race Couples

Black/white American couples reported that white parents and relatives tended to be more disapproving than black extended family members. While the attitudes of the black family may initially be negative they are more likely to alter their views and become more accepting as time progresses. On the other hand, white family members tended to remain negative and it was not unusual for couples to experience rejection even years after their marriage (Simpson & Yinger, 1985).

In her study of mixed-race families living in Britain, Benson (1981) contends that for most individuals, approval of their families of origin was important to them. In general, families of black respondents tended towards favourable reactions, with a few minor exceptions based on stereotyped notions, which were reversed once they got to know the white spouse. The opposite was true of white families of origin, with fairly strong opposition being encountered which in some cases led to the permanent rejection of the family member who had intermarried. Objections centered around a number of issues, in particular the difficulties that offspring would encounter as a result of being biracial. Other reactions included concerns that the marriage would bring disgrace onto the family and that black people were not suitable as spouses since they were uncivilised. Benson remarks that the more hostile reactions were undoubtedly rooted in racial prejudice and were seldom a true relfection of the belief that the particular individual chosen by the white family member was unsuitable.

Although in the main it appears that black families are more tolerant than white family members towards racial intermarriage there have not been many studies addressing this issue. Views seem to be becoming more tolerant and investigations into this area may uncover a more favourable response in the future.

4.8 Research Critique

Many areas of weakness can be identified in the research, each of which indicates a necessary direction for future studies. Some of the literature is rather dated and although older research places the phenomenon of interracial marriage and biracial children into historical perspective, one cannot assume that findings from earlier studies are relevant to contemporary families and accurately reflect the situation today. New attitudes and realities would probably make adaption easier today than in the past. Many of the samples have been small and non-random and based almost entirely on families living within the major urban centres. The focus seems to be almost exclusively placed on the individual family members, with not much attention being paid to the larger social network and environment.

Wilson (1987) criticises studies for adopting what she calls a "problem perspective" with regard to mixed-race marriages and biracial children. Earlier studies have tended to assume that intermarriage is beset by problems and mixed-race children suffer from identity problems caused by their interracial heritage. This she attributes to the concept of the "marginal man", which can be traced back to the theories of Park (1937) and further elaborations by Stonequist (1937) which will be discussed in chapter 5.

4.9 Conclusions from the Literature Review

Tentative conclusions can be drawn from the preceeding review of the literature on mixed marriages, bearing in mind that interracial marriages formed only a part of the review and was not the exclusive focus. In general it appears that no definite profile can be identified of the type of individual most likely to enter into a mixed marriage. Causes of mixed marriages and spouse selection range from rebellion and personal deviance to love and compatibility. Later research tends towards the notion that mixed couples are attracted to each other for much the same reasons as homogeneous couples. There do

however, appear to be indications that mixed marriages are less stable than homogeneous marriages, with increased pressure being exerted on such unions by family (in particular white family members) as well as the general community. However, the trend is towards more tolerance which could lead to increased acceptance and support of mixed-race marriage in the future. Note must be taken of the fact that the literature pertains largely to American research and as such may not be relevant to the South African context.

Appendix A details South African media coverage of interracial relationships during the period of 1993 to 1994. The emergent themes gleaned from these articles are as follows :

* Interracial relationships are a topic of interest to the general public, one which is now being more openly discussed than in previous years.

* Interracial relationships enjoy a more positive acceptance by society than in earlier times.

* Both positive and negative experiences were reported by mixed-race couples, indicating that the issue is not as yet fully accepted by certain members of the public.

For a more detailed discussion see Appendix A.

The following chapter deals with studies on mixed-race children and provides an overview of literature in this regard.

CHAPTER 5

LITERATURE REVIEW : MIXED-RACE CHILDREN

5.1 Introduction

The relatively few studies available on which to base an understanding of mixed-race children, mostly originate in the United States of America. Not a single reference to studies on biracial children could be found in the context of South Africa. This may be due largely to the fact that, as mentioned, it is only recently that such marriages have been legalised, thus families are likely to consist of couples with fairly young children. Prior to legalisation such unions existed but it is speculated that couples may not have been too willing to openly discuss their relationship and their children. This chapter provides an overview of the literature with regard to the identity development of mixed-race children, whilst also addressing issues on raising bicultural children.

5.2 Theories : Biracial Children and their Identity

Theories on mixed-race individuals often refer to the term "marginal" when descriptions and personality characteristics are discussed. The theory of the marginal man was first postulated by Park (1937) and later extended by Stonequist (1937). They proposed that individuals who were caught between two conflicting social cultures were as a consequence prone to psychological distress. Park's theory arose from his interest in immigrant groups and how they became incorporated into the host society. He hypothesised that these individuals would try to gain acceptance into the mainstream culture and attempt to shed their culture of origin. Once faced with the reluctance of the host society to accommodate them, together with the loss of their own culture, they would find themselves stranded between two worlds. This would generate in the individual, feelings of emotional instability, extreme self-consciousness and restlessness. Park

referred to this individual as the "marginal man". He later extended his theory to include people who belonged to two antagonistic groups by birth, as in the example of the Anglo-Indians or children of Jewish-Gentile couples. Tensions between these groups are then internalised by the individual and experienced as an indentity crisis. He did, however, note that the marginal man's experience may not be totally negative. Indeed, the nature of his situation may be to his advantage if he is in a position of community leader, philosopher and/or social commentator (Park, 1937 in Wilson, 1987).

It was Stonequist (1937) who extended these ideas and attempted to identify what he termed the "marginal personality". He saw marginality as a personal crisis which the individual must resolve and move on from, to some type of adaption or adjustment. Park on the other hand acknowledged that the marginal man could have positive or negative aspects depending on the individual's experiences. Stonequist, emphasised mainly the negative elements and focussed on the idea of an internal battle which had to be resolved if the individual was to come to terms with his identity. He saw the marginal man as being poised between two or more social worlds, one of which was dominant over the other or others (Stonequist, 1937 in Wilson, 1987).

Park identified a life cycle consisting of certain stages through which most marginal individuals usually pass. The first stage takes place in childhood when the marginal individual is partially assimilated by the mainstream society. He felt that American mixed-race children would strongly identify with the white group to which they would aspire. However, this phase inevitably ended in rejection when the child was forced to realise that they were not accepted as a member of this group. This would result in a dramatic turning point as the individual would find that previous notions taken for granted would suddenly become problematic. He would experience feelings of confusion and loss of direction. After this phase the true marginal personality would emerge where the person felt estranged from both groups and consequently developed a dual self-image. This was

problematic in that he saw himself from two conflicting standpoints resulting in ambivalence, inner turmoil and pain. He would suffer the agonies of an individual who feels that he had a right to share the "higher culture of the white American but finds himself condemned to a lower caste" in society (p.19). The final stage involves an adjustment response but this phase may not be reached by all individuals, some of whom will remain in the marginal condition of ambivalence. Stonequist proposed three alternative responses in the last phase, namely, assimilation into the host culture, assimilation into the subordinate culture or some type of adaption involving both cultures (Stonequist, 1937 in Wilson, 1987).

The marginal personality exhibits certain characteristics peculiar to his marginal status in society. These include feelings of acute self-consciousness and extreme sensitivity to race issues. He vacillates between two conflicting cultures and sets of values which causes constant ambivalence (Stonequist, 1937 in Motoyoshi, 1990). He is likely to experience discontent, aggressive and rebellious feelings as a result of being assigned to the "lower status" race group. He may, however, also reveal traits of creativity and non-conformism. Stonequist found that the mixed-race individual had a high degree of racial maladjustment (Stonequist, 1937 in Brown, 1990).

Watson in Brown (1990) elaborates on Stonequist's theory and describes the marginal man as experiencing a dual consciousness and identity which may be the root cause of his "apparently fluctuating, irrational, moody, temperamental conduct" which is typical of his behaviour (p.328). Due to the fact that he has been made to feel unacceptable, he develops feelings of inferiority which he compensates for by rationalising, daydreaming or becoming egocentric.

Finally, Stonequist in Brown (1990) claims that marginal persons are at risk of the convergence phenomenon in that they are motivated to behave in ways which conform to

the expectations of the referent group. The strength of their desire to conform is dependent on three factors ; their relationship to the dominant culture, the extent of their belief in the correctness of the dominant culture's responses and the person's awareness of the perceived inconsistencies between his and the dominant culture's behaviour. Brown (1990), himself a biracial individual, strongly identifies with the concept of the marginal man and advocates that the only solution would be for biracial people to be recognised as a unique racial group which contains "elements of both parent races while being specifically unlike either" (p.336). He mentions as an example, the coloured people of South Africa who are seen as a distinct and separate racial group.

Motoyoshi (1990) notes that while geneticists have publically reviewed their earlier negative stance with regard to race mixing, social scientists are in the main, holding on to the problem perspective of the unstable nature of the mixed-race person.

Sebring (1985) maintains that interracial children are generally labled as black by the community and this contributes to their difficulty with identity development. She claims that the child's inability to identify with both parents could result in various negative emotions such as guilt and feelings of disloyalty. This could also lead to the rejection of one parent as well as a pervasive sense of loneliness.

In discussing Erikson's theories on identity formation, Teicher (1968) concludes that the mixed-race individual can be likened to that of the American Negro who must be taught not to underrate his own worth. From an Anglo-Saxon perspective both black and white people have learnt to idealise a pale skin and to despise a dark complexion which is generally associated with negative values.

Teicher maintains that the mixed-race child's quest for identity is even more difficult than for the Negro child. He discusses three case studies and summarises that identity

formation presents the greatest problems for daughters who resemble their Negro fathers. Although he concedes that generalisations are not justified on the basis of such a small sample, Teicher espouses the problem perspective and hypothesises that the child will have greater difficulty with sexual identity if he/she is markedly different physically from the same sex parent. Furthermore, problems will occur when the child perceives the same sex parent as socially depreciated. Teicher also states that the white-appearing child will have more problems if the parents associate largely with the black community, than the Negro-appearing child in the same situation and vice-versa. These hypotheses were at the time being investigated using a sample of fifty white/Negro families, but results of the research had as yet not been published.

Shackford (1984) remarks that interracial children must cope with racism in the same way that black children have to. Over and above this, society generally views the interracial family as pathological and unstable when in fact it may be warm and loving. Although Shackford acknowledges problems with regard to identity formation, her belief is that they stem from the prejudiced attitudes of society rather than from within the individual.

Later researchers have begun to move away from the "problem perspective" to a more positive view of mixed-race individuals. Motoyoshi (1990) interviewed three biracial women and found that although the theory of marginality was in some respects accurate, there was a danger of generalising these beliefs to an entire population and to propose that there were certain innate persona- lity traits peculiar to interracial people. Her respondents did, however, report periods in their lives when they felt confused and experienced self-consciousness and a low self-esteem. These states were temporary rather than enduring and the consensus was that general functioning was not seriously effected.

Poston (1990) criticises previous models of interracial identity development as limited and presents his own model which emphasises a life-span focus and takes into account the

individual's need to combine multiple cultures when forming an identity. In addition, the prejudice and values of society are perceived as exerting an influence on the individual's identity development. However, the positive outcome of the process is stressed in that the researcher notes that few adults report high levels of identity confusion. The model details five stages, the first of which is "personal identity". Young children may have an early sense of identity which could be largely independent of racial background. This stage is followed by "choice of group categorization" where individuals may be forced to make some sort of choice between one ethnic group or another. This could signal a personal crisis and become a time of alienation. Stage three, "enmeshment/denial" is characterised by guilt and confusion at having to choose an identity which may not fully reflect one's heritage. During stage four, "appreciation" the individual begins to explore his/her multiple identity and become involved in cultural enrichment. The final stage, "integration" culminates in a sense of wholeness when individuals recognise and value themselves as products of various influences which lead to a multicultural existence. For most, this developmental process takes place in a healthy fashion although there may be periods of conflict in some of the earlier stages (Poston, 1990, p.153-154).

On the subject of myths about biracial children, Wardle (1988) eloquently comments that both biracial and non-biracial children receive negative insults from peers. The author states that there seems to be :

> "... an assumption that the biracial nature of a child is an individual difference far greater than any other individual difference: handicapped, gender, gifted etc. Therefore the negative impact of this difference will be more destructive than asocial behaviour other children might experience. I think the

> issue is really that other children with individual differences don't choose these differences; interracial parents are essentially accused of setting up their children for failure" (p.9).

In other words, while the biracial child might be exposed to curiosity, teasing and the like, other children are likely to experience similar responses for a wide variety of reasons. As such the biracial child must learn to cope, as any other child must, in order to overcome these difficulties.

5.3 Studies of Biracial Children

A number of studies have focussed on the development of a racial or ethnic identity amongst mixed-race children. Other issues that have been investigated include achievement at school, intellectual ability and personality traits. The majority of studies which will be discussed in this section have taken place in the United States of America. Subjects have ranged in age from pre-elementary children through to adults and the research is presented according to the chronological age of the sample.

5.3.1 Intellectual development : Birth to four years

A study by Willerman, Naylor and Myrianthopoulos (1974) investigated the intellectual development of children from interracial black/white unions at the age of eight months and again at four years. The children were divided into two groups, that is, those with white mothers and Negro fathers, a total of 101, and those with Negro mothers and white

fathers, totalling 28. The combined sample size of this longitudinal study was therefore 129. The measuring instruments used consisted of the Bayley Scales of Mental and Motor Development administered at eight months and the Standford-Binet at four years. The results revealed that at eight months of age, infants of Negro mothers outperformed those of white mothers. Children of married mothers did better than their counterparts whose mothers were unmarried. Girls outscored boys by a non-significant figure. By four years of age the children of white mothers scored significantly higher (a nine point intelligence quotient difference) than those of Negro mothers. Children with married mothers again had the advantage and at age four, girls scored significantly higher than boys. The latter two results have been documented before but the former finding, that of the difference between the intelligence quotient scores for biracial children of white and Negro mothers, bears some discussion. Willerman et. al. note that there were no differences between these two samples of children with regard to birth weight, gestational age, length of infant or birth order. Maternal education was corrected for, although the difference (favouring the white mothers who had slightly higher levels of education) was non-significant. Superiority with respect to socio-economic status or income levels, was not detected for either group. The authors concluded that the explanation appeared to be the influence of the postnatal environment, that is, biracial children of white mothers had an advantage by virtue of the child-rearing practices that they were exposed to. This hypothesis rests on the assumption that the mother was the primary care-giver and socialisation influence, as appears to have been the case in this study.

5.3.2 Racial awareness : Early childhood

A research project by Payne (1977) compared racial attitude formation in biracial children of one black and one white parent with children whose parents were both black as well as with children who had two white parents. In total the sample consisted of 81 children

ranging in age from two years to six years old. Areas of investigation included racial identification and preference, colour awareness and discrimination, and physical attractiveness. A combination of dolls and interview questions were used as the research methodology. The findings indicated that mixed-race children manifested a different racial attitude formation to their black and white counterparts on the issues of racial identification and preference, but not for racial awareness. Furthermore, the racial identity of the biracial child was found to be primarily influenced by their own skin colour and secondarily by their mother's race group. By three years of age, the children could differentiate skin colour with 65 percent of the sample revealing a preferred choice for the dolls with lighter complexions. Single-race children of either black or white parentage identified the darker dolls as unattractive more often than the biracial children, who tended to choose dolls with a complexion closest to their own as not pretty. In general, Payne found the sample to be aware of differences in skin colour and had preferences regarding physical attractiveness which were associated with skin colour. The author recommends that parents address racial attitudes in the formative years of their children's development.

Jacobs (1978) explored the issue of marital process in relation to identity development in ten black/white biracial children aged between three and eight years old in seven middle-class interracial families. Using 36 dolls, Jacobs provided a wide range of skin and hair colour combinations and by pursuing each doll choice from the child's point of view the researcher attempted to provide meaning based on the child's perceptions, feelings and experiences rather than the investigator's, which had been a fault of earlier studies. The findings provide evidence of two qualitively different stages of identity development. The initial early stage indicates that children use colour in a playful exploratory fashion with no standard classification of population groups by race. The second stage, usually beginning at around four and a half years of age was characterised by two accomplishments; that of the internalisation of a biracial label as well as the understanding of the concept of colour constancy. Whereas the latter is a spontaneous

developmental milestone on the part of the child, the former is influenced by the parents presentation of this concept to the child. The children identified themselves as being brown in order to distinguish and separate themselves from the black and white race groups. This second stage was marked by a degree of ambivalence which the author regarded as a "positive attainment which allowed the child to continue exploring his racial identity" (p.5023) with a view to reconciling all elements of his black and white heritage.

A similar study by Gunthorpe (1978) investigated skin colour recognition, preference and identification in 25 black/white mixed-race children aged three, four and five years old. Each biracial child was matched with a black and white race counterpart in terms of age, sex, schooling, socio-economic background and number of siblings. Most of the children in the study were found to be able to recognise racial differences in terms of skin colour but did not have clearly defined preferences. The majority of biracial and white children accurately identified their own skin colour and for the interracial group this remained constant despite individual differences in complexion. It should be noted however, that only three dolls were used for this project with black, white and brown skin tones. Most of the black children inaccurately identified their skin colour and this tendency was exaggerated the darker their actual complexions were. Gunthorpe suggests that this phenomenon may be due to a low self-esteem on the part of the black children in this study but offers no explanation as to why this should be so. However, he concludes that there was no real evidence of strong ethnocentrism by the white children or of a devaluation of the black culture by either biracial or black children, rather there was a tolerance by the total sample with regard to racial differences.

5.3.3 Self-concept : Scholars

In 1974, Chang conducted a research project to determine the self-concepts of children from ethnically different marriages. A sample of 251 children in elementary schools were

identified and compared with 98 children from ethnically similar marriages. All scholars were from a low socio-economic background in the state of Kansas, United States of America. Two self-concept criterion instruments were used and these scores were compared with achievement test results. The findings revealed significant discrepancies between the biracial children and those of non-mixed parentage in terms of total self-concept, behaviour subscores and the achievement test results. The former group scored higher in each instance. Parallel to this was the finding that a higher self-concept was associated with better school performance. Chang (1974) reflects on these findings and suggests that mixed-race children may have achieved higher scores in order to compensate for their marginal status. Or, the results may indicate their natural abilities in that these biracial children had ceased to regard themselves as different. Again, an explanation could be that mixed-race children are genetically superior. Alternatively, teachers may have paid more attention to the biracial children because of their appearance. Another possible explanation stems from the fact that some of the children from the biracial and comparison group came from military families and had generally travelled to many countries which would have led to contact with a number of ethnic groups and racial populations. This background may have resulted in the parents and their children being more receptive and accepting of racial and cultural differences. The author concludes by saying that further research with regard to the child rearing practices of interracially married couples is needed, as well as views on the attitudes of teachers and peers towards biracial children.

A research study conducted in London by Wilson (1987) investigated biracial children aged six to nine years old who had one white parent and one African or Afro-Caribbean parent. The sample consisted of 52 children obtained through an organisation for interracial families and was therefore non-random. The principle question investigated by Wilson was that of the child's racial identity and how this was affected by the mother's attitudes and value system regarding to the issue of race. She found that by the age of

six years, biracial children had an idea of "racial structure as a continuum of skin colour groups" (p.182). This process became more complex the older the child got and by age nine years they were able to construct racial categories. Children living in multiracial areas appeared to have an advantage over children living in areas where one race predominated, as explained by Wilson :

> "Although mixed-race children's understanding of the whimsical subjective technicalities of racial categorization improves with age, the amount of classifactory detail they assimilate, and the rate at which this learning process progresses, to a large extent depends on where they live. Systems of racial classification vary from area to area. Regardless of age, children who live in multiracial areas develop relatively sophisticated secondary category sets, which take account of a wide range of criteria. Children in white areas, on the other hand, tend towards simple, colour-scheme sets and appear concerned with the white/ non-white dichotomy.
>
> For the children in multiracial areas, whose life is played out as part of an intricate mosaic of ethnic groups, knowledge of all kinds of ethnic differences comes fast and early. The discovery and questioning of visible differences between people are an integral part of the young child's exploration of the social world" (p.178-179).

With regard to their own racial identity, children appeared to either experience conflict with their race or accepted themselves as black/ mixed-race. This conflict manifested

itself in three ways; a preoccupation with wanting to be white, retreating defensively into a black identity or being unable to choose between these two options. The mother's influence played an important role. Wilson divides the mothers into three groups according to their attitude regarding race : Those who described their children as predominantly black but secondarily as mixed, that is, they emphasised the social categorisation of the child. Those who saw their children as mixed-race, in other words, they stressed the private classification of the child's racial identity. Those who viewed their children as "only just" non-white. The author discovered that the former two groups of mothers tended to foster a more positive identity in their children while the latter attitude was associated with racial identity conflict and a heightened desire on the part of the child to be white. It also appeared as if a realistic presentation of racism seemed to allay anxiety, while mothers who refused to acknowledge the existence of racial prejudice tended to raise children who suffered from identity difficulties.

Another study of British interracial couples by Bensen (1981) touched on mixed-race children although this was not the primary focus of the research. Of the couples in the study, 18 had one or more children, a total of 27 offspring, ranging in age from a few months to over 20 years old. Unlike Wilson (1987), Bensen overtly supports the problem perspective and discusses the difficulties that many of the children in her study seem to have experienced. She observed the children during her interviews with the parents and noted feelings of hostility and ambivalence. However, Bensen did remark that the children with difficulties tended to be those whose parents socialised within a white circle of friends. As such the children had little or no contact with a black peer group. Furthermore, they seemed to come from households where the parents were unsuccessful in working out a satisfactory and stable marital relationship.

Williams (1982) explored the adaptations of 32 black/white biracial scholars living in Washington DC, an area of low racial tension. Forty black and 40 white scholars were

randomly chosen to serve as comparison groups. A number of variables were compared, inter alia, achievement, behaviour and peer relationships. Findings in general highlighted many socio-economic differences related to adjustment but very few racial differences. In other words, the racial group was far less a factor of influence than that of socio-economic status, with mixed-race children not being found to suffer from maladaptive problems.

Kerwin, Ponterotto, Jackson and Harris (1993) conducted interviews with nine black/white biracial children from six families. The children ranged in age from five to 16 years old and lived within close proximity of New York City in America. Kerwin et al. did not find that any of the children experienced themselves as marginal in two cultures. In the main they demonstrated sensitivities to the views, cultures and values of both the black and white communities. Younger children tended to describe themselves in terms of the actual colour of their skin while older children had adopted a racial identity and were more inclined to use terms such as "interracial" and "mixed". The authors also noted that some of the children identified themselves in terms of their religion leading to the speculation that racial identity may not be the most salient means of group identification. Families who openly discussed racial issues tended to produce children who were more likely to use the interracial label, perceiving themselves as having equal membership of both groups. Kerwin et al. acknowledge that the sample was self-selected and as such more likely to yield positive results. In addition the small sample size makes broad generalisations difficult.

5.3.4 Racial identity : Adolescents

An indepth study by Spivey (1985) of 20 biracial black/white adolescents ranging in age from 12 to 19 years old, from 13 interracial families, examines a number of psychosocial

factors including self-image, racial identity and family process. The research methodology consisted of two psychometric assessment tools as well as individual interviews. A comparison group was incorporated into the study. Findings reveal that the mixed-race adolescents scored significantly higher on self-esteem and achievement in relation to the comparison group. There was a lack of evidence indicating attitudes and behaviours which could be termed maladjustive or rebellious. In addition results reveal that the mixed-race children were able to cope well with a range of social, psychological and academic challenges. However, Spivey notes that some of the biracial children in the sample did report ambiguities in relation to identity but these were, in the main, seen as normative adolescent developmental issues, not specifically related to their mixed-race status. These issues did not appear to hamper their general functioning. The author concludes by maintaining that a flexible and responsive family system will enhance and shape a positive self-concept.

Using a clinical sample of biracial adolescents referred to agencies for treatment, Taylor Gibbs (1987) reflects on the possible problems encountered by subjects which related to their mixed-race heritage. A core conflict among these adolescents appears to have been that of identity formation, with a partial or complete failure to integrate the two cultural heritages into a cohesive unit. There seemed to have been a tendency to over identify with the parent who was physically similar to the child and at times a rejection of the other parent. A few teenagers in the sample felt uncomfortable with their Negroid features and subsequently rejected the black culture. This trend was more common among the girls. Together with the conflict over identity, marginality was also highlighted as a key problem. Girls were more likely to experience concern with being accepted by peers and were sometimes excluded from high-status cliques. They also perceived that boys preferred to date white girls and that there was discrimination against dating across racial boundaries. Taylor Gibbs noted that a number of defence mechanisms were employed by these teenagers as coping strategies to deal with the multiple conflicts they

experienced. However, he does remark that despite the problematic findings of this and other research samples, many studies have suggested positive results with respect to adjustment. Caution is needed therefore when analysing these findings as they are not based on a normative sample. Taylor Gibbs (1987) summarises by discussing implications for the treatment of biracial adolescents, concluding as follows :

> "The major task for these adolescents is to integrate the dual racial identifications into a single identity that affirms the positive aspects of each heritage, acknowledges the reality of societal ambivalence, and rejects the self-limitations or racial stereotypes or behaviour in the process of self-actualization" (p.275-276).

A nationally representative sample of 14 year old Israeli scholars consisting of 218 Ashkenazi/Oriental interethnic teenagers, 387 Oriental subjects and 247 Ashkenazim adolescents, was the focus of a study by Yogev and Jamsky (1983) which sought to challenge the concepts of the theory of social marginality. The children were required to complete various self-administered questionnaires concerning attitudes, experiences and social activities. The results of this study do not support the marginality theory with respect to the interethnic adolescents. The researchers found that these teenagers felt accepted by members of the dominant culture. Their attitudes towards school, aspirations and academic achievement was a function of the socio-economic status of their parents, rather than their membership of an interethnic group. Furthermore, the authors declare that it is an oversimplification to treat children of interethnic couples as a uniform group as many individual differences emerged with respect to their sample.

Johnson and Nagoshi (1986) undertook a research project in Hawaii and compared scores on personality tests of 1 024 children (mean age; 16,87 years) of endogamous marriages

with 180 offspring of interethnic and interracial couples. The researchers found few significant differences between these two groups concluding that, although the psychological instruments used were not clinically orientated, there was not enough evidence to support the theory of adjustment difficulties perceived to be associated with interethnic and biracial children. However, the differences found by Johnson and Nagoshi (1986) are nevertheless detailed below :

> "Male offspring of cross-ethnic matings score higher in Social Desirability, a factor measuring generally favourable self-regard, and lower in Intraception, a factor whose major components include rebelliousness as well as thoughtfulness and idealism. Additionally, male offspring of cross-ethnic matings came closer to scoring significantly lower in Interpersonal Abrasiveness, a factor measuring generally negative self-regard. Daughters of cross-ethnic marriages are more extroverted than daughters of within-ethnic marriages, with no other differences approaching significance. In view of the typically negative beliefs concerning the adjustment of offspring of cross racial/ethnic marriages, it is noteworthy that there are no significant differences between the groups in Ego Organisation (ego strength) or Internal Discomfort (neuroticism)" (p.282).

The authors concede, however, that the state of Hawaii has a rather cosmopolitan population and as such interracial couples and biracial children may not experience themselves as a markedly different subgroup. This explanation correlates with Wilson's (1987) findings that living in a multiracial area is conducive to a more postive identity amongst biracial children.

5.3.5 Mixed-race heritage : Adults

Another study using a sample of 497 students from Hawaii and New Mexico by Stephen and White Stephen (1991) compared single-heritage subjects with those of mixed-heritage. Each student was given a one-hour questionnaire to complete and results indicate no evidence of negative effects stemming from bicultural socialisation. In fact many positive effects were associated with the mixed-heritage sample including language facility, intergroup contact and enjoyment of the culture of minority groups. It appeared that mixed-heritage students had better relations with single-heritage groups than single-heritage groups had with one another. The authors conclude that bicultural experiences lead to favourable intergroup attitudes, values and behaviour.

Poussaint (1984) interviewed 37 biracial adults with the hope of dispelling some of the myths associated with this group of people. The sample consisted of self-selected individuals ranging in age from 17 to 35 years old and the researcher simply asked subjects to talk about their experiences as biracial children. All the individuals identified themselves as black, largely because they felt that they had no other choice and many had been raised in a primarily black community. However, most of the sample said that they did not feel totally black but that their experiences had been influenced by their complexions. In general they felt that the black community were more accepting of them than the white community and that this became apparent in adolescence around the time they began dating.

The sample concluded that the main disadvantages of being biracial included feeling different and being an object of curiosity. Some felt embarrassed and ashamed of their white parent and longed to be authentically black. Others experienced discomfort in black groups, particularly if the discussion turned anti-white. The advantages cited however, seemed to outweigh the disadvantages and subjects reported that they were "more

objective toward life and less prone to strong biased feelings toward groups of people" (Poussaint, 1984, p.10). They saw themselves as more tolerant and less judgemental. They also valued the fact that they had been exposed to two cultures and felt that this had helped them to associate with a wide range of people. They felt less intimidated by whites and candidly confessed that having a fairer skin than their counterparts gave them an advantage. They openly recognised this as a kind of racism and acknowledged that it had led to favouritism. All the subjects said that they would consider marrying across racial barriers themselves and would feel comfortable raising biracial children. In general, Poussaint sums up by remarking that this sample represents a rather successful group in society and paints a positive picture of being an interracial person.

Conclusions reached by Hall (1980) and Kich (1982) in Motoyoshi (1990) echo these sentiments. These two authors found that the majority of their mixed-race subjects felt that they had an advan-tage over single- race individuals in being privy to different lifestyles, values and traditions. Although the samples reported being extra-sensitive to racial issues, they felt that they were more objective and less biased than single-race people. The researchers each concluded that, in general, the respondents presented as a well-adjusted, intelligent and insightful group of people who were really much the same as uniracial individuals.

5.4 Raising Biracial Children

A number of studies have focussed their attention on issues revolving around raising biracial children and promoting a positive identity. Other authors have included these aspects as part of their conclusions in order to avoid the problems identified by their research.

A study by Mar (1988) on Chinese Caucasion interracial parenting discovered that parents' efforts to consciously influence their children's identity had less of an impact than their own unconscious modelling of their personal beliefs, together with their ethnic involvements. In relation to this, Parsonson (1987) discovered that the practice of endogamy by parents did not engender a strong ethnic identity in children, although a weak ethnic identity did appear to be associated with exogamy. It seems as if factors other than parents endogamy produce a strong ethnic identity in children, for example, language or cultural beliefs and practices. On the subject of language, Stevens (1985) notes that in the United States of America there has been a pervasive shift from mother-tongue to English which he partly attributes to intermarriage and the resulting tendency of the couple to adopt English as their home language.

Various authors have proposed a range of factors associated with the development of a positive identity in biracial children. Jacobs (1978) recommends the following :

* Ego enhancing treatment from an early age.

* Giving an appropriate name to the child's racial category, for example, "brown, mixed, or interracial".

* Providing supportive interest, helping the child to express racial ambivalence and verbalising racial attitudes.

* Involving the child in a number of contacts with multiracial individuals and groups.

Many other authors echo these sentiments and have added additional suggestions. Ladner (1984) identifies biracial children's needs as follows :

* Acceptance and support by parents, extended family, teachers and the community.

* An understanding of both parent's cultural heritages.

* An open atmosphere where racial issues can be freely discussed, questions asked and reactions to upsetting experiences shared.

* Accurate information about racism, name-calling, prejudice and discimination.

* Support in handling racial incidents or difficult questions from other children and/or adults.

* Role-models from other interracial families.

* Exposure to a multicultural environment.

* Books which portray interracial families in order for children to see themselves reflected in literature.

On the latter point, however, Long (1984) reflects that there are very few children's books which mention interracial families. This means that biracial children are denied a validation of their families and monocultural children are not exposed. They are therefore unable to learn from a literacy resource about alternative family structures.

Many of the aforementioned points are reiterrated by McRoy and Freeman (1985, 1986) who also relay a number of additional factors:

* The family should form a positive identity as an interracial unit.

* Couples need to acknowledge that their child's racial heritage is different from their own and should be willing to allow their children to develop as separate individuals who will not be like either parent.

Motoyoshi (1990) reflects that an important criterion mentioned by several researchers is raising biracial children in a multiracial neighbourhood. Youths raised in a predominantly white neighbourhood generally experience the most adjustment problems and struggle to form an appropriate identity. In addition she maintains that parents should form a clear concept of their child's identity for themselves, as ambivalence by the couple will be reflected by their offspring. Wilson (1987) found in her study that, aside from raising biracial children in a multicultural area and providing a black/mixed-race identity for the child, parents should not try to deny the white bias that would inevitably surround them. However, she stresses that parents should attempt to strike a balance between acknowledging the unfairness of society, while simultaneously encouraging the child's potential to develop as an individual. In other words, frustrations must be channelled into the fight against injustice while maintaining a healthy self-concept.

Shackford (1984) endorses the suggestions by the above-mentioned researchers and includes the following advice gleaned during a panel discussion with interracial adults :

* Possibly the most important factor for interracial couples who are raising biracial children is that each parent be comfortable with his/her own identity.

* Parents should also understand that they will never share the experiences of their biracial child (unless they themselves are from a mixed heritage) and cannot as such completely know what it is like to be an interracial person.

* Joining a support group of mixed couples could be helpful, or if there was not one in the area, parents could consider starting one of their own.

Adult biracial conference participants, Spivey, Chen, Rose and Brody (1984) shared their experiences of growing up in an interracial family and emphasise the importance of communication. Parents must be open and the panelists stressed that although racism may be a part of life, it was the reality of the family that was more important. Other factors mentioned included exposing the child to both sets of extended families so that they would feel comfortable in the company of people from both cultures. Another consideration for parents to be aware of was not to favour one culture over the other and not to identify one culture as better or worse.

Shackford (1984) comments rather ironically that interracial parents do indeed have a difficult task to perform in that they are expected to raise healthy children in an unhealthy society and concludes with the following statement :

> "Interracial children must work through the conflicts of being a mixed child in a society that theoretically promotes pluralism while rejecting interracial unions. That process will be easier if parents present the situation realistically and work with other parents to make institutions more responsive to their

children's needs. Interracial children can grow to be strong adults with a positive self-identity. Ultimately, however, the problems interracial children face will be solved only when racism is eradicated" (p.6).

5.5 Conclusions from the Literature Review

Early research tended to focus on investigating problems with identity development of mixed-race children. Studies built on the theories of Park and Stonequist (1937) supported the marginal perspective and set about proving that such problems existed. It may well have been that during those years the attitudes and views of society were less tolerant, the marginal individual therefore being created by the environment. Or, the prevailing views may have been internalised and resulted in the previously described personality disturbances. Nevertheless, researchers in recent years have preferred to shift their focus onto more positive aspects, resulting in studies which have subsequently failed to confirm the marginal theory and instead present a fairly healthy picture of the mixed-race individual. Again this is probably as a result of the more tolerant views expressed by the wider commu- nity and the move away from a racial emphasis.

Other studies have highlighted the need of the interracial family to foster a more open, supportive child-raising style thereby contributing to the positive aspects of being mixed-race. In that way families would be encouraged to abandon the problem perspective which they themselves may have been subscribing to. Caution is needed in generalising these findings to the South African situation, since most of the research was conducted in America and other countries. However, discussions with the individuals in the present study should reflect the wider society to some extent.

The following chapter addresses the statistical incidence of mixed-race marriage and divorce in South Africa and other countries.

CHAPTER 6

INCIDENCE OF MIXED-RACE MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

6.1 Introduction

A discussion regarding the incidence of mixed-race marriages will help place the concept in context. Figures in respect of such marriages and their offspring are detailed for the United States of America. Mixed-race marriages and divorces are discussed for South Africa between the years of 1987 and 1991.

6.2 Incidence in the United States of America

Heer (1974) reporting on the prevalence of black/white marriages in the United States of America noted that in 1960 there were 31 000 such couples. This figure had jumped to 51 500 by 1970, an increase of 21%. This was considerably larger than the increase in the total number of married couples in the United States during the same period, which was only 10%. The number of children born to mixed couples were fewer than in black homogeneous marriages and was in general similar to the average found amongst white homogeneous couples, that is approximately 2,1 children per couple. Heer (1974) states that it is difficult to provide exact data with regard to biracial children, as a large percentage of mixed couples have been previously married and as such some of the children may have been born in a former racially homogeneous marriage.

Research reveals that in 1980, according to the census figures for that year, there were 613 000 interracial couples residing in the United States of America. This number was almost double that of the 1970 total which was 310 000. These figures include all race mixtures, not just black/white couples. The number of interracial children varies from an estimated 600 000 to five million (Brown, 1987).

Taylor Gibbs (1987) indicated that by 1983 the number of black/ white interracial marriages in the United States of America had risen to 164 000, an increase of 150% from the 1970 figure which is reported in this study as 65 000. The number of mixed-race children was estimated at one million in 1983.

A study by Chew, Eggebeen and Uhlenberg (1989) estimates that in 1980 there were two million children (3,5% of all American children) living in one million multiracial households, that is, where one or more members differed from other members by race. About 60% of these children were living in Asian/white households headed by a mixed-race couple.

Despite the increase in the number of interracial marriages, Shackford (1984) notes that the 1983 census reveals that such unions remain about 1,5% of the total marriages in the United States of America, which is a relatively small figure.

6.3 Incidence of Mixed-Race Marriage in South Africa

The Central Statistical Service has provided figures on mixed marriages for the Republic of South Africa since 1987. Before this date figures are not available, probably because mixed marriages were not legalised in South Africa until 1985. The information supplied accounts for all combinations of marriages between the black, white, coloured and Asian population groups. Homogeneous marriage figures are provided for the white, coloured and Asian population groups but no information is given regarding black marriages as these figures are difficult to obtain. The Central Statistical Service states that many black people marry according to custom and their marriages are therefore not legally registered. All figures given pertain to marriages solemnised in a magistrate's court.

Tabulated below is a statistical analysis of mixed marriages as provided by the Central Statistical Service of the Republic of South Africa for the years 1987 to 1990. Figures after 1990 are not available for mixed-race marriages probably due to the fact that the Population Registration Act was scrapped in 1991. Where the population group of the bride and bridegroom are unknown the term "unspecified" has been used by the Central Statistical Service.

Two tables have been provided for each year. The first table for that particular year details mixed-race and homogeneous marriages by population group of the husband and wife. The second table for that year specifies mixed marriages only and provides an analysis of the total number of mixed marriages per population group as well as the calculated percentage of the total for each group. The figures for the "unspecified category" have excluded from the second table for each year as they have already been noted in the first table.

Table 1

Mixed and Homogeneous Marriages by Population Group for 1987

Population Group of wife	Population Group of Husband					Total
	White	Coloured	Asian	Black	Unspecified	
White	41 033	56	27	0	0	41 116
Coloured	292	17 930	337	111	0	18 670
Asian	77	167	6 503	4	0	6 751
Black	22	293	7	-	-	322
Unspecified	0	0	0	-	79	79
Total	41 424	18 446	6 874	115	79	66 938

Table 2

Mixed Marriages for 1987

White			Coloured		Asian	
Coloured	Asian	Black	Asian	Black	Black	Total
348	104	22	504	404	11	1 393
25%	7,6%	1,6%	36%	29%	0,8%	100%

The tables above indicate that a total of 1 393 mixed marriages took place during 1987 of which 474 involved one spouse from the white population group (excluding the unspecified category), that is 34,03% of all mixed marriages.

A total of 66 938 marriages took place during 1987. This figure includes homogeneous marriages for the white, coloured and Asian population groups, as well as all mixed and unspecified marriages. Mixed marriages account for 2,08% of that total and those involving a spouse from the white population group, total 0,71%

Table 3

Mixed and Homogeneous Marriages by Population Group for 1988

Population Group of Wife	Population Group of Husband					Total
	White	Coloured	Asian	Black	Unspeci-fied	
White	41 219	43	32	0	0	41 294
Coloured	259	16 088	311	86	0	16 744
Asian	62	151	5 791	1	0	6 005
Black	13	112	6	-	-	131
unspecified	0	0	0	-	575	575
Total	41 553	16 394	6 140	87	575	64 749

Table 4

Mixed Marriages for 1988

White			Coloured		Asian	
Coloured	Asian	Black	Asian	Black	Black	Total
302	94	13	462	198	7	1 076
28%	8,8%	1,2%	43%	18,4%	0,6%	100%

The tables for 1988 reveal that the total number of mixed marriages was 1 076 for that year of which 409 involved one white spouse, which is 38,01% of all mixed marriages.

A total of 64 749 marriages took place in that year which includes the population groups as stated in the 1987 analysis. Mixed marriage totalled 1,67% of that figure with 0,63% involving one spouse from the white population group.

Table 5

Mixed and Homogeneous Marriages by Population Group for 1989

Population Group of Wife	Population Group of Husband					Total
	White	Coloured	Asian	Black	Unspecified	
White	44 124	77	58	0	0	41 259
Coloured	476	18 111	335	76	0	18 998
Asian	168	235	6 537	5	0	6 945
Black	28	60	6	-	-	94
Unspecified	0	0	0	-	696	696
Total	44 796	18 483	6 936	81	696	70 992

Table 6

Mixed Marriages for 1989

White			Coloured		Asian	
Coloured	Asian	Black	Asian	Black	Black	Total
553	226	28	570	136	11	1 524
36,3%	15%	2%	37%	9%	0,7%	100%

These tables reveal a total of 1 524 mixed marriages for 1989 which includes 807 where one spouse was from the white population group, a total of 52,95%. These figures include the population groups as specified for 1987. A total of 70 992 marriages took place during 1989, of which 2,15% were mixed and 1,14% involved one white spouse.

Table 7

Mixed and Homogeneous Marriages by Population Group for 1990

Population Group of Wife	Population Group of Husband					Total
	White	Coloured	Asian	Black	Unspecified	
White	45 660	129	161	113	0	46 063
Coloured	503	18 544	415	747	0	20 209
Asian	276	284	7 097	59	0	7 716
Black	163	317	45	-	-	525
Unspecified	0	0	0	-	39	39
Total	46 602	19 274	7 718	919	39	74 552

Table 8

Mixed Marriages for 1990

White			Coloured		Asian	
Coloured	Asian	Black	Asian	Black	Black	Total
632	437	276	699	1 064	104	3 212
19.7%	13,6%	8.6%	21,8%	33,1%	3,2%	100%

The tables for 1990 indicate that a total of 74 552 marriages took place during that year of which 3 212 were between couples of different race groups, amounting to 4.3% of all marriages. Of these, 1 345 involved one white spouse, that is 42% of all mixed marriages. This amounts to 1,8% of the total number of marriages, excluding those between the black population group as specified earlier.

Conclusions indicating an increase in mixed marriages cannot clearly be drawn from these tables since, although such marriages totalled 1 393 in 1987 and 3 212 in 1990, there was a corresponding general increase in the total number of marriages from 66 938 in 1987 to 74 552 in 1990. Mixed marriages accounted for 2,08% of all marriages as specified in 1987, 1,67% in 1988, 2,15% in 1989 and 1,8% in 1990. There does seem to be a slight increase in the percentage of mixed marriages involving one white spouse. These figures were 474 (34,03%) in 1987, 409 (38,01%) in 1988, 807 (52,95%) in 1989 and 1 345 (42%) in 1990. This may be due to the fact that there was no legal restriction preventing other race groups marrying each other, since the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act only applied to interracial marriages between the white race and other non-white race groups. The Central Statistical Service no longer reports figures on mixed marriages and thus the above conclusions are speculative rather than conclusive.

No statistics are available in South Africa regarding the number of children born to mixed-race couples.

6.4 Incidence of Mixed-Race Divorce in South Africa

The Central Statistical Service also provided divorce statistics for same-race couples of the white, coloured and Asian groups as well as for all combinations of mixed-race couples from 1987 to 1991. Statistics are not included for black divorces as it is acknowledged by the Central Statistical Service that these figures would probably not be accurate, due to the fact that blacks tend not to register the marriages and divorces. As per the statistics for marriages, no figures have been included in respect of the former independent homelands; Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

Table 9

Mixed and Homogeneous Divorces by Population Group for 1987

Population Group of Wife	Population Group of Husband				
	White	Coloured	Asian	Black	Total
White	18 371	1	2	0	18 374
Coloured	15	4 368	38	33	4 454
Asian	2	16	1 046	0	1 064
Black	0	21	2	-	23
Total	18 388	4 406	1 088	33	23 915

As shown a total of 23 915 people were divorced in 1987. Table 1 indicates that 66 938 individuals were married during that same year. Divorce figures represent 35.7% of that total. One hundred and thirty individuals in mixed-race marriages were divorced, which is 0,19% of the total divorce figure for 1987.

The table below indicates divorce statistics per population group in comparison with marriage statistics for 1987.

Table 10

Marriages and Divorce Statistics for 1987

	White	Coloured	Asian	Mixed-Race
Marriages	41 033	7 930	6 503	1 393
Divorces	18 371	4 368	1 046	130
Divorces Expressed as a Percentage of Marriages	44,77%	24,36%	16,08%	9,33%

The above table reveals that divorce as expressed as a percentage of marriage for the 1987 is highest amongst the white population group, with the lowest incidence occuring amongst mixed-race couples, that is 44,77% as compared to 9,33%.

Table 11

Mixed and Homogeneous Divorces by Population Group for 1988

Population Group of Wife	Population Group of Husband				
	White	Coloured	Asian	Black	Total
White	18 432	5	2	0	18 439
Coloured	10	4 907	37	53	5 007
Asian	3	20	1 251	2	1 276
Black	3	33	0	-	36
Total	18 448	4 965	1 290	55	24 758

The total number of individuals in 1988 who are divorced is 24 758. Of those, 168 were from mixed-race marriages, that is 0,68%. Table 3 indicates that 64 749 individuals were married during that year. Divorced individuals as expressed by comparison with the marriage figures for 1988 account for 38,24%.

Table 12

Marriage and Divorce Statistics for 1988

	White	Coloured	Asian	Mixed-Race
Marriages	41 219	16 088	5 791	1 076
Divorces	18 432	4 907	1 251	168
Divorces Expressed as a Percentage of Marriages	44,72%	30,5%	21,6%	15,61%

Again, the divorce figures for white homogeneous marriages as expressed in the above table were the highest, at 44,72%, with mixed marriages the lowest, at 15,61%.

Table 13

Mixed and Homogeneous Divorces by Population Group for 1989

Population Group of Wife	Population Group of Husband				
	White	Coloured	Asian	Black	Total
White	18 637	8	4	0	18 649
Coloured	18	4 729	44	51	4 842
Asian	7	21	1 282	0	1 310
Black	4	28	2	-	34
Total	18 666	4 786	1 332	51	24 835

Table 5 indicates that 70 992 individuals were married during 1989 and Table 13 indicates that 24 835 were divorced during the same year which is 34,98% as expressed as a proportion of the marriage figure. A total of 187 individuals from mixed-race marriages were divorced, which is 0,75% of the divorce figure.

Table 14

Marriage and Divorce Statistics for 1989

	White	Coloured	Asian	Mixed-Race
Marriages	44 124	18 111	6 537	1 524
Divorces	18 637	4 729	1 282	187
Divorces Expressed as a Percentage of Marriages	42,24%	26,11%	19,16%	12,27%

As per the previous two years, the divorce figures expressed as a percentage of the total number of individuals married during that homogeneous marriages at 42,24% while the lowest amongst mixed-race couples was 12,27%.

Table 15

Mixed and Homogeneous Divorces by Population Group for 1990

Population Group of Wife	Population Group of Husband				
	White	Coloured	Asian	Black	Total
White	20 031	10	4	0	20 045
Coloured	20	5 217	46	34	5 317
Asian	5	23	1 421	4	1 453
Black	3	26	2	-	31
Total	20 059	5 276	1 473	38	26 846

During 1990, 26 846 individuals were divorced, Table 7 revealing that 74 552 individuals were married in that year. Divorces as expressed as a percentage of marriages were divorced, which is 0,06% of the divorce figure for 1990.

Table 16

Marriage and Divorce Statistics for 1990

	White	Coloured	Asian	Mixed-Race
Marriages	45 660	18 544	6	3 212
Divorces	20 031	5 217	39	177
Divorces Expressed as a Percentage of Marriages	43,87%	28,13%	20,02%	5,51%

White divorces, as expressed as a percentage of marriages for 1990 were 43,87%, the highest figure, while the mixed-race divorce figure of 5,51% was again the lowest.

Table 17

Mixed and Homogeneous Divorces by Population Group for 1991

Population Group of Wife	Population Group of Husband				
	White	Coloured	Asian	Black	Mixed-Race
White	17 398	7	6	1	17 412
Coloured	17	5 057	39	29	5 142
Asian	15	16	1 410	2	1 443
Black	3	21	4	-	28
Total	17 433	5 101	1 459	32	24 025

A total of 24 025 individuals were divorced during 1991 of which 160 were from mixed marriages. Since figures for mixed-race marriages were not reported for 1991 a comparison table cannot be given as for previous years. However, white homogeneous divorces represent 72,42% of the total divorce figure, coloured homogeneous divorces were 21,05%, Asian homogeneous divorces amounted to 5,87% and mixed-race divorces were 0,67%.

The figures presented in the preceeding tables show that no clear conclusion can be drawn from the divorce statistics. However, it does appear that the highest incidence of divorce occurs in white homogeneous marriages, followed by coloured marriages, then Asian and lastly the lowest incidence of divorces occurring amongst mixed-race couples, that is, 9,33% in 1987, 15,61% in 1988, 12,27% in 1989, and 5,51% in 1990. It may be that since these marriages involving a white partner would tend to be in the early phase there is less likelihood of divorce occurring. The average duration of mixed-race marriages for South Africans is not known. Another possibility could be that mixed couples may feel that they should work harder to make their marriage work in an effort to prove that such marriages are a viable option against perceived odds. It should also be borne in mind that the quoted figures represent mixed couples across all race groups and combinations. The coloured and Asian groups notably tend to have a lower incidence of divorce than whites. Also, no statistics have been given for black homogeneous marriages and divorces. Blacks may have an even lower incidence of divorce, all of which would have a bearing on the divorce statistics amongst mixed couples. Most important however, is the tentative question whether mixed-race marriages are as unstable as popular assumption would indicate.

The following chapter examines the research methodology used in the study.

CHAPTER 7
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

7.1 Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of the methodology employed in the research. The characteristics of the sample are also discussed as well as the specific research procedures used and how the data analysis was conducted.

7.2 Questions

The present study is exploratory in nature; as such a qualitative research method was considered to be the most appropriate. No attempt was made to formulate hypotheses, however certain general questions with regard to mixed-race families were identified as relevant and served as a basis for the study. These questions are outlined below :

* What causes individuals to enter into a mixed-race marriage?

* How did the individual's family of origin react initially and how did their attitudes change over time?

* What adjustments did individuals have to make in order to be interracially married?

* What effect did children have on the marriage and how were they being raised?

* How did the issue of racial identity impact on each family member?

* How did the family cope with racial discrimination (if any) from the community?

* How did legislation and the political environment affect the family?

The above questions served as a framework for conducting interviews with the sample respondents.

7.3 Qualitative Research

Qualitative research methods have become steadily more popular as a means of social enquiry. This can be defined in the broadest sense as research which is exploratory and/or descriptive rather than quantitative (Marshall & Rossman, 1989; Taylor & Bogdan, 1984). In addition, Taylor and Bogdan (1984) stress that qualitative research is inductive, in that researchers must follow a flexible research design with broadly formulated general questions. Researchers must attempt to understand people from their own frame of reference and should not attempt to reduce the "whole" into quantifiable parts.

Qualitative research methods are generally used in the following situations :

* To probe into complex processes.

* To gain new insights for which relevant variables have not been identified.

* To determine issues for future research.

* To identify and explore individuals in a particular context (Mouton & Marais, 1988; Marshall & Rossman, 1989).

Mouton and Marais (1988) emphasise that qualitative research seeks to lead the reader towards an understanding and comprehension of a subject rather than to provide a collection of replicable data. As such the preferred method of data gathering usually involves the use of in-depth interviews. Taylor and Bogdan (1984) refer to in-depth interviews as a series of face-to-face encounters which are largely non-directive, unstructured and informal. Marshall and Rossman (1989) note that although the researcher may explore a few general areas, the participants' frames and responses should be respected.

Taylor and Bogdan (1984) comment that in-depth interviewing is particularly suited to situations where the researcher has time constraints, needs to study a range of people and where past events and subjective human experience is the key focus.

7.4 The Study

The present study used in-depth interviewing as the primary tool for gathering data. However, certain biographical details were asked of all applicants. The broad questions as outlined earlier were used as a basis, although those particular questions may not necessarily have been asked. A family member was interviewed for all seven families who participated in the study. In one instance the mixed-race couple was interviewed together and in another family the husband's sister was interviewed since the couple were living in the Eastern Transvaal and could not be contacted telephonically. This couple was asked to complete a questionnaire (See Appendix C). No other respondent was required to complete a questionnaire.

The couple who were interviewed together, as well as one of the other respondents, were interviewed in their homes. All other respondents were interviewed at their place of employment. Respondents were free to choose where the interview could take place.

Interviews were between one and a half hours to two hours in length. All interviews took place over a period of eight months between July 1993 and March 1994.

With the exception of one respondent, all freely agreed to have their names and surnames published. *Noms de plume* were nevertheless used to ensure anonymity. Suburbs of residence were broadened to the general area unless the residence was in a densely populated area, where it was known that several mixed-race families resided.

Participation in the study was voluntary and respondents were fully informed beforehand as to the exploratory nature of the research. At the outset of the interview respondents were encouraged to ask questions about the research in order to allay assumptions, establish rapport and facilitate a climate of open discussion.

Comprehensive notes were made during the interview, comments being taken down verbatim wherever possible. Taylor and Bogdan (1984) advise against the use of recording devices as this could make informants ill at ease. However, the researchers caution that information could be lost when relying on memory and notes.

7.5 Sample

The target sample consisted of seven interracial families where one parent was white. The sample was non-random and selected by word of mouth through mutual contacts. An advertisement was placed in Thandi magazine[1] (See Appendix D : Letter to Thandi Magazine and Appendix E : Advertisement in Thandi Magazine) requesting interracial families to participate in the study. One respondent was recruited in this manner. Other couples who responded to the advertisement were interethnic partners, for example,

1 A magazine catering largely for women in the black population group.

where one spouse was Zulu and the other Tswana-speaking and were thus not interviewed for the study. Several other magazines were approached to place similar advertisements but declined to do so without giving reasons.

Many couples who were contacted declined to participate in the study. Reasons varied from one spouse being unwilling to allow the partner to be interviewed, to the objection to being singled out as a problem to be studied "as if we are abnormal, like homosexuals or something." As such the sample was self-selected which may slant the findings towards the positive. There were indications that a large proportion of the couples who declined to participate were experiencing marital difficulties.

All couples except one were legally married. The couple who were not married had lived together for several years and despite the separation, both parents remained actively involved in the raising of their daughter. All couples except one had biological offspring. This particular couple had two adopted daughters. In other respects the sample families differed with regard to race, age, religion, language, education, occupation and financial status.

Biographical details on each of the participant families are provided in two tables. Table 18 details biographical data of the sample couples. Names, race, first language, religion, education, occupation and monthly income for each partner are shown. Table 19 provides details of the children in the sample. The number of children in each family as well as their sexes and ages are given.

The terms husband and wife were used for convenience despite the fact that, as mentioned, one couple was not legally married. In certain instances data was unknown and this is indicated in the table.

Table 18

Biographical Data of Sample Couples

	NAME		RACE		AGE		FIRST LANGUAGE		RELIGION		EDUCATION		OCCUPATION		MONTHLY INCOME	
NUMBER	HUSBAND	WIFE	HUSBAND	WIFE	HUSBAND	WIFE	HUSBAND	WIFE	HUSBAND	WIFE	HUSBAND	WIFE	HUSBAND	WIFE	HUSBAND	WIFE
1	Moham-med	Ronelle	Asian	White	34	30	English	English	Moslem	Moslem Previous-ly Metho-dist	Std 10	Std 10	Family Busi-ness	House-wife	+R10 000	No Income
2	Jack	Tina	White	Black	±63	28	English	Tswana	Unknown	Christian	Doctorate	Std 8	Univer-sity Lectu-rer	Clea-ner	Unknown	+R650
3	Clive	Minnie	Mixed-Race Asian/ Coloured	White	Deceased at 67	65	English	English	Catholic	Catholic Previous-ly Bap-tist	Std 6	Std 7	Admin Clerk	House-wife	Unknown	Pension from Husband
4	Leon	Esther	White	Black	46	41	Dutch	Zulu	Catholic	Prote-stant	Std 10 Qualified Electri-cian	Std 8	Elec-trician	Recep-tio-nist/ Switch board	+R3 200	+R750
5	Ed	Ellen	White	Mixed-Race Black/ White	57	54	English	Siswati	Chris-tian	Christian	0 Levels	OLevels	Pilot	Secre-tary	Unknown	+R3 000
6	Johan	Belinda	White	Coloured	23	28	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	Chris-tian	Christian	Std 10	Std 8	Farmer	House-wife	+R500	No Income
7	Thomas	Bella	White	Black	65	43	English	Siswati	Atheist	Christian	Std 9	Std 4	Artisan	House-wife	Pension	No Income

Table 19

Details of Sample Children

NUMBER	NUMBER OF CHILDREN	SEX OF CHILDREN	AGE OF CHILDREN
1	2	2 x Female	9yrs; 6yrs
2	1	Female	10yrs
3	10	7 x Female; 3 x Male	Unknown
4	1	Male	5yrs
5	2	2 x Male	28yrs; 26yrs
6	2	1 x Female; 1 x Male	5yrs; 10months
7	2	2 x Female	10yrs; 6yrs

7.6 Data Analysis

Each family has been presented in detail as a separate chapter (8 to 14). Verbatim quotes have been included in order to preserve as much of the character of the respondents as possible. Each chapter concludes with a discussion on that particular family. Chapters are presented separately as case studies. However, it should be noted that although cases appear individually, chapters 8 to 14 are nevertheless linked in many respects.

For practical illustration and understanding a genogram representing three to five generations has been included for each respondent's family. Symbols have been used to designate race groups. A key has been provided for each genogram. For example, a symbol might indicate that an individual is half-coloured and half-white in the case where that individual has a coloured and a white parent.

a white parent. As such, these percentages have been determined by the race of the parents and provide a visual representation of the racial mix that may have occurred in that particular family. The actual percentages reflected may therefore not be a realistic interpretation of actual proportions.

In addition, transcripts were analysed to identify emergent themes which are then presented in chapter 14 entitled "Results of the Research".

Although an attempt was made to structure the chapters according to emergent themes as far as possible, this was not always feasible. Respondents' circumstances varied to a large extent and they were generally encouraged to speak as freely and openly as possible, without imposing too much structure during the interview.

The seven chapters which follow constitute the information from each sample family presented in the order in which they were interviewed.

CHAPTER 8

CASE NUMBER 1

MOHAMMED AND RONELLE : AN ASIAN/WHITE FAMILY

Mohammed and Ronelle are a Moslem couple who have two daughters, Fatima and Kathija aged nine and six years old. Mohammed, an Asian man of 34 years, married Ronelle, an English-speaking white woman of 30 years, according to Islamic custom in 1984. They were legally married in 1988.

Ronelle agreed to be interviewed in July 1993 after being asked to take part in the study by a mutual friend. The interview which took place at Ronelle's home was approximately two hours in duration. Mohammed declined to be interviewed but had no objection to Ronelle's participation. The couple were also not concerned about having their names and surnames published. However, the names used in the study are pseudonyms. Ronelle offered to approach two other interracial families known to her to request their participation in the study. However, both couples declined without giving reasons.

8.1 Profile : Ronelle

Ronelle is an attractive blond haired woman with blue eyes. She is tall and athletically built. She presents as a friendly, relaxed individual who was open during the interview. She has a matric qualification, is a housewife and part-time aerobics instructor.

8.2 Profile : Mohammed

Mohammed is a tall, good looking man with dark brown hair and eyes. He has a light brown complexion. Mohammed has a Standard 10 education and assists the family in the running of their supermarket. His salary is approximately R10 000,00 per month.

8.3 Early Relationship

Mohammed and Ronelle met while Ronelle was in Standard 9. Mutual friends introduced the two to each other and initially they socialised as a group, going to the cinema and sporting events together with other peers. Mohammed belonged to a sports club where the majority of the members were white and as such most of his friends were also whites. After about six months their friendship deepened and they began to "go steady" with each other.

Ronelle's family tended to be fairly conservative with regard to race mixing and her parents would not have permitted her to enter into a relationship with someone of another race. Ronelle reflects that her parents' views were very much "in line with current thinking". She doesn't feel that her parents' attitude was "any worse" than the prevailing opinions held by the majority of whites at the time in 1979. Although she knew that they would not approve of her relationship with Mohammed, she was determined to continue seeing him and she introduced him to her parents as Lebonese. Her parents accepted this and were happy to allow her to "date" him. Ronelle describes Mohammed as a "relaxed, easy-going person who is very westernised in his way of thinking".

After dating for about eight months Ronelle's parents discovered that Mohammed was Asian[1] and banned Ronelle from having any contact with him until she had completed her matric examinations which were in six months time.

During that time Ronelle did not see Mohammed at all although she was aware, via friends, that he was very unhappy about the situation. Ronelle had been allowed to write Mohammed a letter initially, which a friend had given to him, in which she explained her

1 A relative had happened to see Mohammed with his family in their supermarket and realising that he was Asian had reported this to Ronelle's parents.

parent's decision. Although upset at first, Ronelle eventually managed to put Mohammed out of her mind and never expected to re-establish contact with him.

After her matric examinations, Ronelle found work and moved into a flat with a friend. About three months later Mohammed unexpectedly came around to visit her after managing to find out where she lived. They resumed their relationship and Ronelle feels it was at this stage that "things really became serious; we both realised that we were very much in love." Since Ronelle's parents had so strongly objected to their relationship initially they decided to keep the knowledge of their reunion from them. However, after about nine months Ronelle's parents found out and were very upset. They refused to have any further contact with her. Ronelle and Mohammed continued their relationship and Ronelle did not see her family again until a year later when a family tragedy, the death of her sister's child, reunited parents and siblings. A decision was made at that time to put the past behind them and start afresh. Ronelle reflects :

> "... I think they also realised by then that Mohammed and I were definitely serious about each other, so I suppose they just thought that they couldn't fight the situation any longer ... We had always been a close family and I don't think they were happy when we broke contact with each other."

Until that time Mohammed's family were unaware of his relationship with Ronelle. They found out shortly after Ronelle's parents had accepted their relationship "and that's when they started giving us problems". According to Ronelle, Mohammed had only ever had "white girlfriends" but it was nevertheless expected of him to marry a Moslem wife. His parents had never approved of his previous girlfriends but hadn't taken the situation very seriously.

Ronelle explains that at that time :

> "... nice Moslem girls were not really allowed to go out on dates so he had no alternative but to date white girls or no-one. Mohammed has always been very anti-Moslem women because he sees them as too subservient and conservative in their thinking ... He has always been quite liberal."

The couple had approached Mohammed's parents with the announcement that they wanted to get married. A further obstacle then became apparent because they couldn't find anyone who was prepared to marry them, since at that stage in 1983 mixed marriages were still prohibited by law. The couple began to think about emigration as a solution to their problem. However, Ronelle then fell pregnant "sort-of on purpose to prove that we were committed to each other". Although she now looks back and wonders at her logic, this did have the effect of her gaining acceptance by Mohammed's parents who made peace with the couple and gave them their blessing to marry. Ronelle set about converting to the Moslem faith and the couple married according to Moslem rites a month after their first child, Fatima was born. During this time the couple lived with Mohamed's parents. "This helped to bring us closer and I learnt many of the traditions as well as the Moslem culture from my mother-in-law". After a period of two years Ronelle and Mohammed bought a property in an Indian suburb and had their own home built.

8.4 Family Background : Mohammed and Ronelle

Ronelle's family have never to her knowledge intermarried with other race groups. However, she does mention that there are two other interfaith marriages in the family. One of her sisters is married to a husband who is a devout Jehova's Witness while one

of her brothers has married a strongly committed reborn Christian. The family were all raised in the Methodist faith although Ronelle feels that no-one was deeply religious. Of note is that Ronelle now identifies herself as a committed Moslem and reflects that before her marriage to Mohammed this was a contentious issue between them.

> "Mohammed was adamant that I had to change to the Moslem faith and that the children had to be brought up as Moslem. I really had to think about this very hard because there's no point changing if you don't really believe. I discussed the possibility of just staying as a Methodist but bringing the children up as Moslem but Mohammed felt that it wouldn't really work out ... The Moslem's are very proud of their faith. I think they're quite similar to the Jews and they are very family-business orientated. We actually nearly ended our relationship over this issue ... To me the race difference meant much less than the whole religion thing. In the end I felt that since I've never had strong religious beliefs I wasn't really giving up my faith ... And, the more I learnt about the Moslem beliefs the more I became committed and I think I'm even more committed than Mohammed now. I definitely say my prayers more regularly than he does."

Mohammed's family had also never intermarried with other race groups, although his brother is married to a white woman (they got married after Mohammed and Ronelle) and his youngest brother is "going steady with a white girlfriend". A request was made to interview Mohammed's brother and/or his wife via Ronelle but the couple declined as mentioned earlier. Ronelle comments that they were experiencing difficulties in their marriage and were at the time contemplating a separation. Ronelle does not consider that

they were experiencing friction due to the fact that they were interracially married but rather because she describes her brother-in-law as a "difficult" person to get on with. Her sister-in-law, she feels is also too "stubborn" so they never resolve arguments. "Things have just got out of hand but I don't think it's got anything to do with race. They just fight all the time over petty things" (See Figure 1, Genogram : Mohammed and Ronelle).

8.5 Area of Residence

The suburb where Mohammed and Ronelle reside is a predominantely Asian community of generally Moslem religion. It is a middle to upper class suburb. Ronelle estimates that there are probably about 20 other mixed-race couples in the area comprising mainly of Asian men married to white woman. Ronelle knows of such couples but apart from her brother and sister-in-law who also live in the area, Ronelle and Mohammed do not socialise with any other mixed couples.

8.6 Current Family Relationships

Ronelle describes herself as happily married. She feels that as a couple she and her husband have "weathered the storm" and have settled into a stable relationship. Arguments are few and are generally resolved quickly.

Ronelle's parents have come to accept Mohamed and she quotes her father as saying that "Mohammed is his favourite son-in-law". Ronelle in turn feels fully accepted by Mohammed's family and considers her period of residence with them to have resolved any earlier feelings of doubt. Both sets of parents enjoy their grandchildren very much and Ronelle comments :

> "... they have always accepted them from the very beginning. By the time Fatima was born there was no more animosity from either side so I'm grateful that the children were never exposed to any of that."

8.7 Child Raising

Ronelle is the primary care-giver since she is able to spend more time with the children. The eldest child, Fatima, aged nine years old, is currently in Standard 1. The other pupils in the school are primarily white although there are some Asian and black children as well as a few mixed-race children. Fatima's friends tend to be predominately white but her closest friends are her cousins on both sides of the family, namely white and mixed-race Asian/white. The children do not have much contact with their Asian cousins (Mohammed's sister's children) mainly because they live too far away.

Fatima is achieving very well at school, "she gets one's for everything" and she enjoys ballet and tennis as extramural activities. She also attends vernacular classes in the afternoon. Ronelle describes Fatima as a "very bubbly" extroverted child who is self-assured. "She doesn't readily back down but she's not cheeky or forward. Underneath she's got a soft heart and she's very protective towards Kathija".

The youngest daughter, Kathija, six years old, is at nursery school. She was to start Grade One in 1994 at the same school as her sister. The nursery school she attended comprised predominantly Asian children although there were also a few black children as well as a few mixed-race children. There are no white children at the nursery school. Her school friends tend to be Asian but her closest friends are also her cousins as is the case with Fatima.

Kathija is doing well at school and she also attends vernacular classes. She was to start with other extramural activities when she went to Grade One. Ronelle desribes Kathija as more reserved and not as confident as her older sister. "She tends to be more sensitive and will generally back away from confrontation."

Both children are attractive with fairly light complexions although they have Asian features. Fatima has dark brown hair, while Kathija, the fairer of the two has light brown/blond hair.

8.8 Racial Identity

On discussing the issue of race, Ronelle explains :

> "I think of my children as basically Indian, well that's what they are classified as but maybe I think of them as mixed ... Actually now that you ask me I realise that I never really think of my children as any particular race, more as Moslem. Indians generally seems to identify themselves more in terms of their religion, you know Moslem or Hindu, rather than as a particular race ... I definitely see my children as Moslem, I even think of myself now as Moslem and not really as white."

On the subject of how the children identify themselves, Ronelle felt that Fatima saw herself as "half-half" while Kathija saw herself as "Indian".

> "Kathija doesn't fully understand the concept of mixed-race and she tends to be more sensitive about the whole issue. One day she came home in tears because the children were teasing her about her blond hair, they told her that she didn't look like an Indian. She soon calmed down when I told her to tell the other children that her mommy has even blonder hair ... Fatima wouldn't have been upset if the same thing had happened to her. But I wasn't really worried because I think it was just a bit of teasing, harmless, nothing malicious. Mohammed did get heartsore when I told him what had happened, he feels very protective over them and he doesn't want them exposed to racism ... Other than that incident though, I can't think of any other time when race has been an issue and I've never got the feeling that they are unhappy about who they are."

Ronelle comments that she and Mohammed have always been quite "liberal" in their attitudes and feel very positive about race relations in South Africa. "Things seem to be going in the right direction".

8.9 Cultural Values

Ronelle and Mohammed see themselves as westernised Moslems. Although they generally follow many of the religious customs very strictly, other aspects of the culture are not adhered to.

> "Traditionally Moslems were raised according to strict standards, especially the girls but Mohammed is quite

> modern, he wants Fatima and Kathija to get a good education and to experience life ... In the past, the daughters were just taught to be good wives. But things are changing, I see it with all the Moslems, although we tend to be more westernised than most."

Food tends to be a mixture of Western and Indian cooking with English being the home language. "I want them to know something about each culture but we see ourselves as Moslems."

Ronelle does not wear traditional Moslem clothes at all and also does not wear a scarf to cover her hair. She prefers to wear the engagement and wedding ring of the Western culture.

8.10 Clinical Impressions, Discussion and Comments

Ronelle was frank during the interview and readily discussed details of her marriage. She was also open about her personal views, to the point of naming the political party that she supported. One is struck by her tenacity and commitment to Mohammed once she had decided that she wanted to marry him. The couple seem to have a successful marriage with Ronelle readily accepting the role of wife and mother. However, it does seem as if Mohammed is somewhat more "liberal" in his views than other more traditional Moslem husbands. Even before his relationship with Ronelle he had been involved with white girlfriends and had been mixing in a peer group of white friends. One would assume that he had begun to assimilate some of the Western cultural norms and views. Ronelle commented that Mohammed had never enjoyed the company of Moslem girls; he found them uninteresting. Perhaps this led to his increased association with whites. However, Mohammed was evidently not prepared to give up his religion even though he appears not to be deeply committed. The issue of religion appears to be a central theme

for Mohammed and Ronelle. Their identities are based on their religion rather than on their differing racial groups. Ronelle remarked on the fact that there were other interfaith marriages in her family of origin, expressing concern that this factor had led to difficulties in the marriages. When "put to the test" Mohammed was not prepared to forsake his religion even if it meant losing Ronelle. One wonders what Mohammed must have felt when he was forced to pass himself off as Lebonese in order to continue his association with Ronelle. Then again, Ronelle took the step of falling pregnant in order to prove her commitment to Mohammed and thereby gain the acceptance of his parents. But the turning point seems to have been Ronelle's conversion and subsequent commitment to the Moslem faith, which may have been a key factor in the success of the marriage.

Her conversion has also paved the way for a smoother path on issues involving the raising of the children. It would seem that the children's identities are also vested in their religion, although the eldest does have an appreciation of racial issues. Perhaps because they are living in an area where there are other interracial families, this helps in that they are not unique. Also, the fact that they socialise with their cousins who are also biracial would have the same result. In aspects apart from religion, they are being raised according to Western cultural norms as agreed by both parents.

Another aspect of interest is that shortly after Mohammed and Ronelle's marriage, Mohammed's elder brother also married a white woman. His younger brother is reported to have a serious relationship with a white woman as well. Is this a coincidence or does it make it easier for subsequent marriages to break the norm of endogamy once one family member has done so? Perhaps the family feel that if the marriage is between two partners of the same faith then the norm of endogamy has not been broken despite racial differences. Mohammed's brother's wife also converted to the Moslem faith before their marriage.

It seems that several issues can be identified from this case study, namely :

* Individuals define themselves in ways more important than race, for example religion.

* A strong religious commitment by the couple may overcome racial differences.

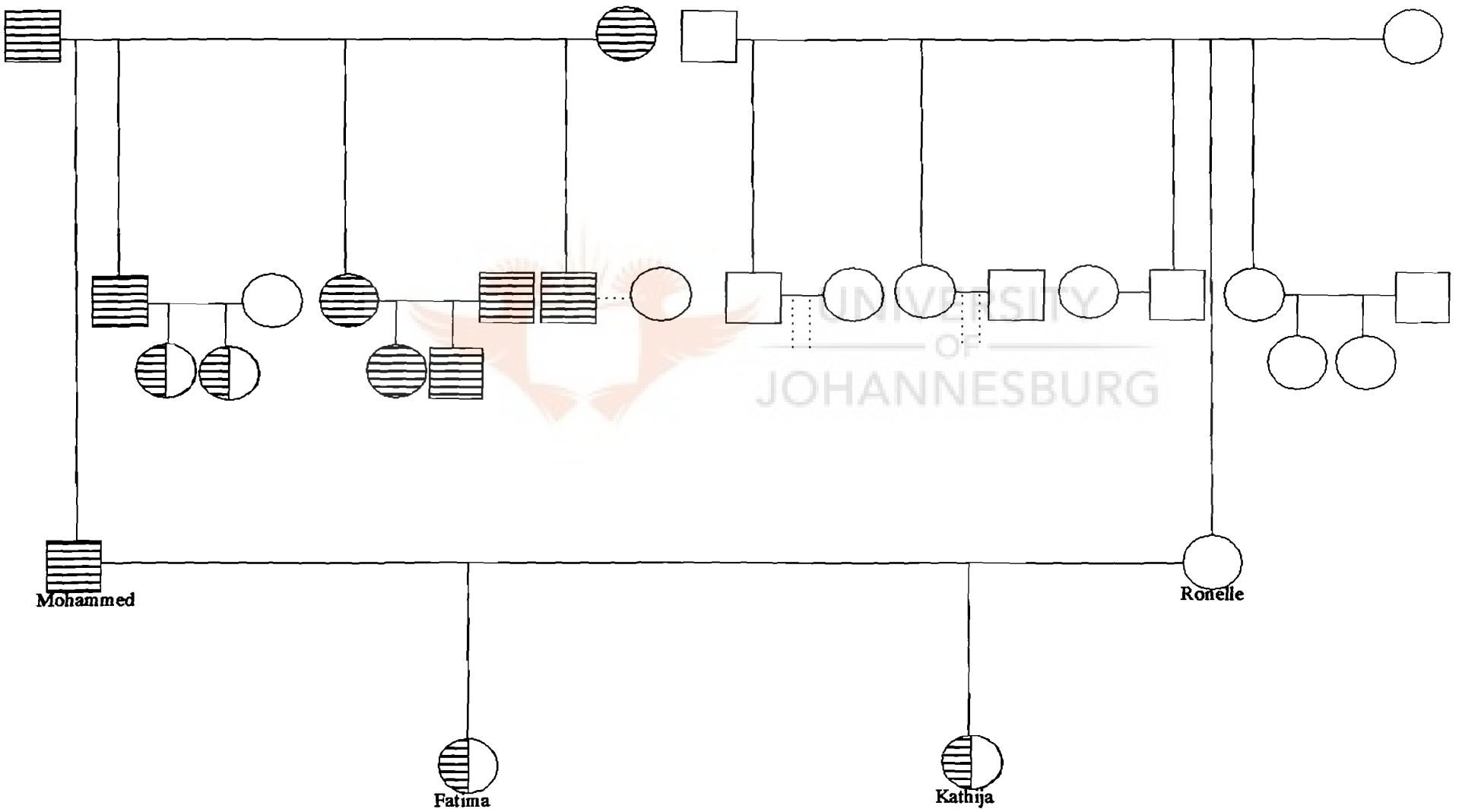
* Proximity to other interracial families appears to foster a healthier identity in couples and in children.

* Once a family member breaks the norm of endogamy it may pave the way for other family members to do so.

* The norm of endogamy may not be perceived to have been broken in interracial marriage where religious endogamy has been preserved.

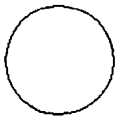
Figure 1

Genogram : Mohammed and Ronelle

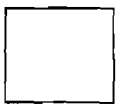


Key to Genogram : Mohammed and Ronelle

Male

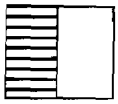


Female



White

Asian



Mixed Race - 1/2 Asian / 1/2 White

A relationship

Children of unknown number and sex

CHAPTER 9

CASE NUMBER 2

JACK AND TINA : A WHITE/BLACK RELATIONSHIP

Jack, a white man of approximately 63 years of age and Tina, a black, Tswana-speaking woman, 28 years old, had a relationship lasting some five years (1979 to 1984) during which time their daughter, Jessica, aged ten years was born. Although the couple never married and are now no longer together, Jack still plays an active role in his daughter's upbringing.

Tina was interviewed at her place of work during August 1993. She responded to an advertisement placed in the Thandi magazine requesting the assistance for research purposes of mixed race couples who had children (See Appendices D and E). The interview was about one and a half hours in duration. Tina was very open during the interview and did not mind her name and surname as well as that of her daughter's being published. She asked that Jack's surname not be used and to refer to him by his first name only. However, all names have been changed to protect confidentiality. She brought photographs of Jessica to the interview but not of Jack as she did not have any of him.

9.1 Profile : Tina

Tina is shorter than average and very petite. She looks younger than her 28 years. She has curly black hair and attractive features. Born in South Africa, Tina has a Standard 8 education and speaks English well, although Tswana is her first language. She works as a cleaner and earns approximately R650,00 per month. She is a Christian but does not go to church regularly.

Tina presents as a vivacious person who was eager to tell her story. Although shy at first, she soon relaxed and became forthright and talkative.

9.2 Profile : Jack

Tina described Jack as being of medium build with grey hair and brown eyes. She was unsure of his date of birth but estimates that Jack must have been about 48 years old at the time when they met, since he recently retired at the age of 63 years in 1993. Jack was a university lecturer by profession and holds a doctoral qualification. Tina was unsure of his religion but mentioned that he was probably non-practising since she did not think that he ever went to church. She did not know what his monthly income was. However, she remarked that he was "very rich".

9.3 Family Background : Tina

Tina's parents were never married and she does not have much knowledge of her father whom she has had little contact with over the years. Her mother works as a domestic servant and Tina was raised primarily by her maternal grandmother who lives in Bophutatswana[1]. Tina attended boarding school in Bophutatswana but used to visit her mother during her vacations. Her mother lived on the premises of the Johannesburg northern suburbs residence where she worked. Tina did not discuss her family of origin in much detail due to time constraints since she was interviewed during her lunch hour and had to get back to work. She was also rather reluctant to discuss her background and preferred to talk about her relationship with Jack.

1 A former independent homeland within the boundaries of South Africa, which is home to primarily Tswana-speaking black people.

9.4 Family Background : Jack

Tina was unable to supply much information about Jack since she never met any of his family or friends during their five year relationship.

He was born in Germany and his parents had already passed away prior to her relationship with Jack. He had been previously married to a white South African woman and the couple had five daughters. Tina never met any of his children as they had all moved out of the home before she and Jack met. He lived alone in his flat in an upper-class northern suburb of Johannesburg (See Figure 2, Genogram : Jack and Tina).

9.5 Early Relationship

Tina met Jack in June 1979 when she was 15 years old and in Standard 5. Tina was on vacation from school and was staying with her mother. Her mother worked as a domestic servant in the area in which Jack lived. Tina and four of her friends had decided to go to the "corner café" to buy some sweets. Jack happened to be in the café at the same time. Jack approached Tina and her friends and invited them back to his flat. He gave the girls cooldrinks and biscuits and told Tina that he was interested in her. He asked for her address and promised to write to her when she returned to school. Since she was due back at school in Boputhutswana shortly thereafter she only had occasion to see Jack twice more during that vacation, both times in the company of her friends. However, as promised, Jack wrote to Tina on her return to school and the two corresponded until the December vacation when Jack urged Tina to visit him again but this time on her own. Tina did so and it was at that stage that Jack initiated a sexual relationship. "I was still a virgin and I was quite scared but Jack said that I musn't worry because everything would be fine." Tina saw Jack regularly during her vacation but kept this knowledge from her mother.

> "My friends would cover for me, they would tell my mom that I was with them. They all knew that I was staying at Jack's flat but they said there was nothing wrong with going out with a white man, and we loved each other so I also felt that things would be fine. But I knew my mother wouldn't see it like that, she wouldn't have liked it if she had known that I was staying there."

When Tina returned to school the following January she was already pregnant as the couple had not taken precautions. However, Tina miscarried at approximately three months but became pregnant for a second time towards the end of the year. This pregnancy also resulted in a miscarriage at approximately four months. The couple would correspond regularly during the year while Tina was at school and would spend as much time as possible with each other during the school vacations. Tina did not tell Jack or her family about the pregnancies although her grandmother, with whom she was staying at the time suspected that something was wrong.

9.6 Final Stage of the Relationship

Jack and Tina continued their relationship during her school career and Tina considers that they were fairly happy together although she acknowledges that they only saw each other during school vacation periods.

Some four years into their relationship, Jack's domestic servant confided in Tina that Jack regularly entertained "other young black girls" in his flat while she was away at school.

> "I was very shocked because all that time I thought he had only me and no-one else, that's what he used to say in his letters ... At first I didn't want to believe her but I was very

> jealous so I thought I would make sure. After my holiday was over I told him I was going back to school but instead I stayed at one of my friends ... After a few days I went back to his flat and caught him out. There was another girl there with him. We had a big fight, I was so upset I attacked her and I told Jack that I didn't want to see him anymore."

Tina went back to school only to discover that she was pregnant for the third time. "I told Jack but he didn't believe that it was his baby." Tina gave birth prematurely to their daughter, Jessica, at seven months and initially doctors feared that the baby wouldn't survive. After a period in the incubator Tina took Jessica to her grandmother's home in Bophutatswana. She had passed her Standard 8 examinations the previous year and decided not to go back to school.

Tina's mother was still at that stage unaware of Jack's existence but confronted Tina after Jessica was born.

> "She said that Jessica is a white man's child and I must tell her what is going on. So I told her the full story about how we met and the fight we had had and that Jack wouldn't believe that it was his baby ... My mother took me to the clinic and we got advice to go and have blood tests so that we could prove that it was Jack's child. He saw that it wasn't a black baby but he still didn't believe me until after the tests."

Once the blood tests proved Jack's paternity he apologised and wanted to resume the relationship with Tina but she felt that everything had been "spoilt".

> "I knew that things wouldn't be the same between us again, I didn't love him anymore because of the other girls and everything with Jessica, so I said he must just look after her and that we wouldn't be together anymore."

9.7 Current Situation

Tina is presently employed as a cleaner in Johannesburg where she also resides. Jessica lives with Tina's grandmother in Bophutatswana. Tina is currently involved in a relationship with a black man who is divorced with two children from his previous marriage. The couple are considering marriage plans in the near future.

Although Jack and Tina ended their relationship some ten years ago they still keep in regular contact. Since her relationship with Jack, Tina has not been involved with anyone of another race group. To her knowledge no-one else in her family, has or ever had, relationships with partners of other race groups and there are no mixed marriages in the family. As far as Tina knows, Jack's daughters are all married to white men with the exception of the youngest daughter from his marriage who has remained single and is currently staying with him.

Tina maintains that Jack did continue to "carry on with black girls" for some years after their relationship ended but she doesn't think that he has been involved with anyone seriously for the last five years or so, "especially now that his daughter is living with him". Jack has apparently never remarried.

9.8 Child Rearing

After giving birth to Jessica, Tina was unable to find work in Bophutatswana and since her mother was working as a live-in domestic servant she could not look after the baby. Tina decided to leave Jessica with her grandmother in Bophutatswana and move to Johannesburg in search of work. However, shortly thereafter, Jack had a house built in Bophutatswana for Tina's family. Jack also pays maintenance every month and takes care of Jessica's school fees and medical expenses.

Tina tries to see her daughter about once every one or two months during the year and also spends every Christmas vacation with her family in Bophutatswana. Jack visits Jessica regularly once a month, sometimes together with Tina but generally on his own.

Jessica has curly brown hair, brown eyes and a coffee-coloured complexion. She has an impish smile and Tina describes her as very extroverted and self-confident. She is nine years old and is currently in Standard 2 at a black school in Bophutatswana. She is a bright student and is consistently placed in the top three scholars in her class. There are no other mixed-race children in the school and most of her friends are black. However, there are some coloured children living in the area and Jessica is friendly with some of these children. The neighbourhood consists generally of black residents although there are also a number of coloured families.

Jessica is well accepted by the other children in her school and in the neighbourhood. Tina maintains that "they all love her, she is very popular". When asked why this was so, Tina considered that it was because "she has got a white father".

9.9 Racial Identity

On the issue of racial identity Tina generally tends to think of Jessica as :

> "... mixed-race, but more black, not really coloured because I think of coloured people as separate, with coloured parents and they speak Afrikaans ... Jessica also thinks of herself as mixed but more white. Sometimes she tells me that she is special because she has a white Daddy so that means she is white and not black ... But she mainly sees herself as half-black/ half-white."

9.10 Racial Incidents and Views

Jessica has been exposed to a certain amount of teasing from the other children about her "white daddy" but Tina does not consider this to be malicious or damaging in any way. "Jessica is proud of her father and the teasing doesn't seem to worry her in any way". Tina maintains that Jessica is being raised a black child, "she speaks Tswana as her first language and English as her second language". Although certain customs and cultural aspects of the Tswana people are being taught to Jessica, Tina feels that the family are in general not very traditional and have moved towards a more Westernised lifestyle. Her father's regular visits have also provided exposure to the white culture and he encourages her to do well academically. Tina hopes to provide her daughter with a good education and will allow her to make her own choices in life concerning her career and marriage partner.

> "She must marry the person that she loves, I would like to see more open relationships between all races in South Africa ...

> Not like when I was younger and my mother was upset about me and Jack because he was white ... but they get on very well now. I don't see any problems for Jessica because she's mixed. She seems to be able to fit in with blacks and coloureds and hopefully also with whites, although she only really knows her father when it comes to whites ... I don't think I'm going to have any more children because my boyfriend already has two and it was quite difficult for me just to have Jessica, so I want the best for her."

9.11 Clinical Impressions, Discussion and Comments

Tina discussed her relationship with Jack in a manner which seemed to suggest that she felt proud of the experience. She had been singled out by an educated, wealthy white person who had become the father of her child. She is still on good terms with Jack and he takes care of Jessica financially and plays the role of father to a certain extent.

There are indications however that Jack actively procurred young black girls for sexual exploitation. Using his position of elevated status as a white person he appears to have taken advantage of the racial inequality in South Africa at the time. The fact that he married a white woman initially suggests that he was attracted to white women. Why then would he engage in relationships with young black girls after the death of his wife? The repercussions of similar relationships with young white girls would possibly have resulted in charges of statuatory rape or sexual abuse being laid against him. Yet this did not happen; indeed Tina considers herself to be special as a result of her association with Jack.

Jack also seemed at pains to keep these relationships secret from his family and friends. This may have been a fear of litigation under Section 16 of the Immorality Act. However,

the likelihood exists that Jack was also aware that he was exploiting these young girls. Jessica appears to perceive herself as having increased status due to the fact that she has a white father. This belief seems to be perpetuated by the community in which she lives. Jack's active involvement in Jessica's upbringing possibly also contributes to this perception, together with his financial assistance.

The issue of Jessica's racial identity is also important considering neither Tina nor Jessica chose the label of coloured. Black/white mixed-race children were originally thought of as coloured before legislation prohibited such relationships. Perhaps now that the coloured group in South Africa have built up a unique identity, black/white biracial individuals who were born in recent years cannot simply be slotted into this group with which they do not identify.

Several issues can be deduced from this case study :

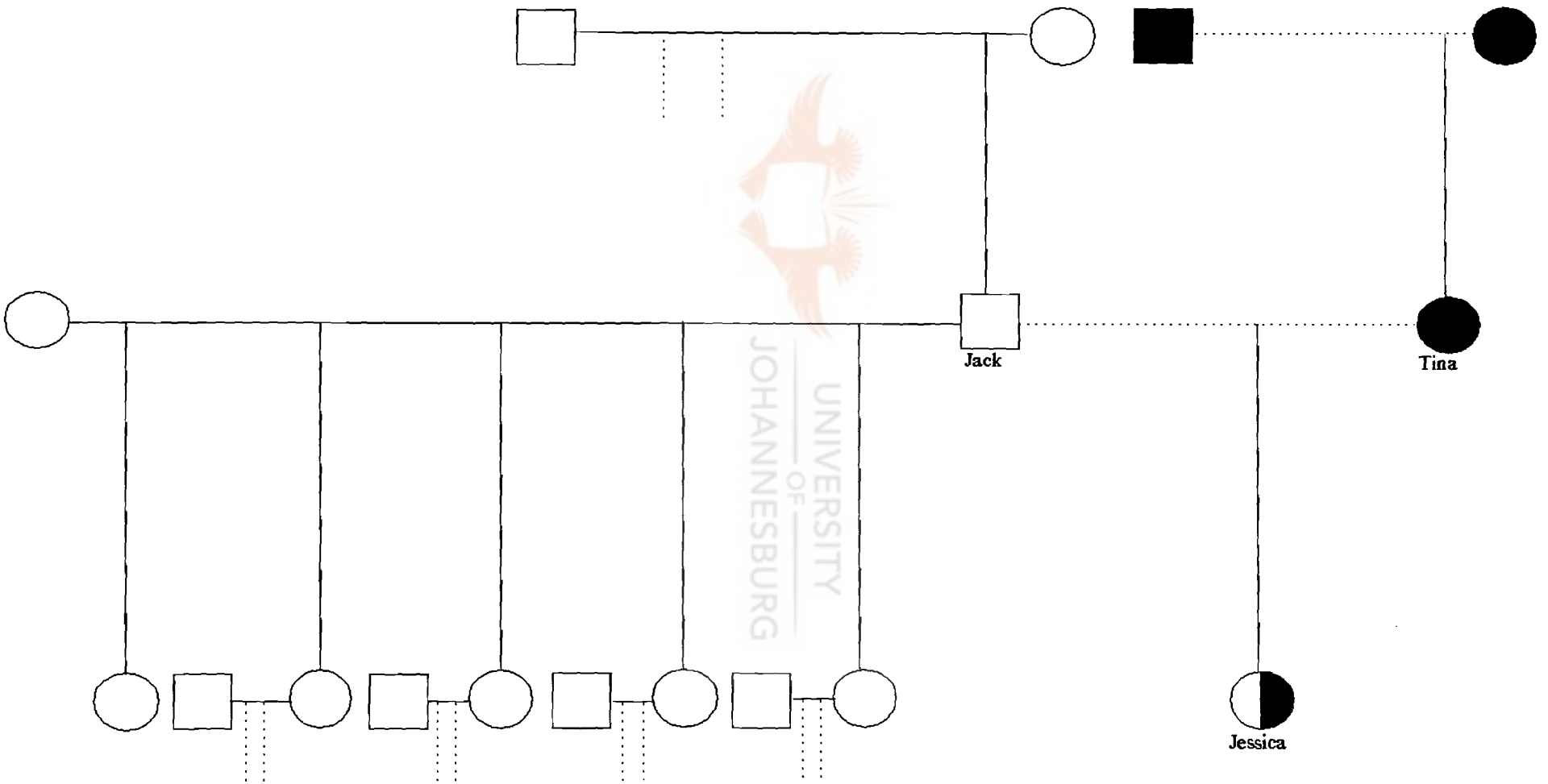
* The increased status of the white population group may have allowed them to exploit the non-white groups in a sexual manner.

* The non-white population group may not perceive themselves to have been sexually exploited by the white population group.

* Rcently born biracial children may form a new identity based on their mixed heritage which is distinct from that of the coloured group.

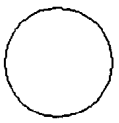
Figure 2

Genogram : Jack and Tina



Key to Genogram : Jack and Tina

Male



Female

White

Black

Mixed Race - 1/2 Black / 1/2 White

A relationship

Children of unknown number and sex

CHAPTER 10

CASE NUMBER 3

CLIVE AND MINNIE : THREE GENERATIONS OF MIXED MARRIAGES

Minnie, a white woman aged 65 years old and Clive, son of an Asian/ coloured couple, were legally married in 1948 for some 44 years before Clive passed away early in 1992, at the age of 67 years. The couple had ten children, three of whom are presently interracially married.

Minnie agreed to be interviewed after being approached to do so by her son Graham who had heard about the research through mutual friends, having volunteered to be interviewed himself. The interviews with Minnie and Graham were both undertaken at Graham's place of work in August 1993. Each interview was approximately one and a half hours in duration. Minnie and Graham had no objection to their names and surnames being used in the study. However, all names have been changed for the purpose of confidentiality.

10.1 Profile : Clive and Minnie

Clive, the eldest son of an Asian father and a coloured mother, had a dark complexion with curly black hair and brown eyes. Although his features resembled those of his mother, his complexion was somewhat darker than the average coloured person. His first language was English and he tended to identify himself as a coloured. Clive had a sister, two years his junior and both siblings were raised according to their mother's culture. Contact with their father's family was minimal, due to the fact that his grandparents on his father's side were rather unhappy about his marriage to a coloured person. Clive had a Standard 6 education and was employed as an administration clerk throughout his career.

Minnie, the eldest daughter in a family of seven children has a fair complexion, brown eyes and had light brown hair which has now turned grey. She had a Standard 7 education and was never employed. She was a housewife and mother.

Minnie was raised in an English-speaking household which embraced the Baptist religion. However, she converted to the Catholic faith after she had married Clive, since he and his sister had been raised as Catholics by their mother. Although Minnie had never been very strongly committed to the Baptist faith, she became a devout Catholic at Clive's encouragement.

10.2 Family Background and Early Relationship

Clive and Minnie were both born and raised in Doornfontein which is presently an industrial area of Johannesburg. However, at the time when they lived in Doornfontein, the suburb was a residential area which housed a wide spectrum of racial and ethnic groups. Clive and Minnie lived a few blocks from each other and according to Minnie, the different race groups socialised readily, particularly the children. She comments : "You could play with children of all races but if you were white you weren't supposed to marry them". Minnie, the eldest daughter in a family of seven children, was introduced to Clive at the age of 13 years, he was 16 years old at the time and was friendly with one of Minnie's older brothers. The two became friends, seeing each other on occasion, but it was not until Minnie turned 16 years of age that a serious relationship developed between them.

Minnie's mother had passed away when she was younger and her father was very much against her relationship with Clive, as were most of her brothers and sisters. Her eldest brother and two of her sisters later changed their views, after they themselves became involved in interracial relationships. At 17 years of age Minnie became pregnant with

Clive's child and her father banished her from the house. She went to live with Clive, his elder sister and their father. Clive's mother had also passed away when he was younger. Initially Clive's father, an Asian man of Moslem religion was also against his son's relationship with Minnie. Clive's father had married a coloured woman, resulting in him being rejected by his family who had expected him to marry an Asian woman. Because of this Clive and his sister were raised as coloureds and identified with the coloured culture. Their mother's first language was Afrikaans, and except for the fact that the family adopted their father's first language, English, as the home language, in no other respect did the children identify with any aspect of their father's culture. Their mother was a devout Roman Catholic and both Clive and his sister were raised strictly according to this religion, becoming deeply committed Roman Catholics themselves.

Clive's father feared that Clive and Minnie would be exposed to the same or similar treatment by family members. His father was particularly concerned that Minnie would "leave Clive as soon as she realised that she was white". Despite this, he still accepted Minnie into the home and supported her financially.

The following year Minnie fell pregnant again and the couple decided that they would like to get married. Minnie approached her family and requested her father to give them his blessing and consent which he refused to do.

10.3 Legally Married in 1948

In 1948 interracial marriage was illegal in the Transvaal and all other provinces of the Republic of South Africa except for the Cape Province, where whites and coloureds were still permitted to marry. No other forms of interracial marriages were allowed amongst whites.

Minnie's eldest brother was employed at that stage and had reversed his earlier stance

of opposition and was now supportive of her decision to marry Clive. Since the couple were struggling financially, Minnie's brother financed the trip by train to Kimberley (in the Cape Province) so that they could legally marry there. The couple were aware that a "Bill was shortly about to be passed in the Cape Province which would outlaw" interracial marriages in South Africa, that is, the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act in 1949. Upon arrival in Kimberley the couple were confronted with a further problem since Clive's surname was clearly of Asian origin, although "he looked more coloured than Indian". Since the procedure did not appear to be very formal and thorough, Clive dropped the letter "I" from his surname when completing the forms which resulted in his surname sounding like a white/coloured surname instead of Asian. The couple were therefore legally married as a coloured/white mixed couple and registered with a new surname. Minnie explains :

> "... when we got back home Clive's father was quite upset that we had changed our surname even though he understood the reason. I suppose that was really all he had left from his Indian background and since Clive was his only son he knew that the name couldn't carry on anymore. I think he was disappointed but he was very good to us after we got married and he didn't let it show."

10.4 Racial Incidents

Shortly after Minnie and Clive's marriage the legislation which outlawed mixed marriages seemed to "make things worse between the races". According to Minnie, racial tension seemed to increase and she and Clive were at times harassed in public. At the time of her interview some 40 years later, two incidents remained freshly imprinted in Minnie's memory.

> "Clive and I had just gone to see a soccer game together and were walking home afterwards when two policemen started on us, telling us that it was against the law for blacks and whites to be together and things like that ... We told them that we were legally married and that we had got married before the new law but they didn't believe us, so they took us home and made us show them our marriage certificate ... When I showed them the certificate one of the policemen looked at me in disgust and said, "Ag, sies vir jou meisie[1]", I still remember that so well."

Minnie, philosophical about the incident, says that she feels no bitterness. She didn't feel that she had done anything wrong so she felt no shame. "I married for love and I've got no regrets".

A second incident was more upsetting, especially for Clive while Minnie recalls the event with disappointment.

> "We were walking home from a movie one night, I was very pregnant at the time and Clive had his arm around me. A police van drove by and two white policemen got out and started shouting and swearing at Clive telling him to take his hands off me and to stop molesting me ... I saw that they were looking for a fight when they started to attack Clive, so I told them that I was pregnant and feeling sick and that this man

1 "Oh, shame on you, girl" would constitute a rough translation of the policeman's words.

> was just being kind enough to help me home ... They left him alone then and they took me home in the van. Clive had to walk home on his own."

10.5 Areas of Residence

After Minnie and Clive married they continued to live with Clive's father. Clive's sister married a coloured man shortly thereafter and moved out of the family home. Since the couple had a good relationship with Clive's father this situation suited them. Minnie describes the home as "very comfortable, we had three bedrooms, electricity, everything we wanted". Some eight years later the National Party Government decided to declare Doornfontein a white residential area and relocate all other race groups to alternative suburbs. Minnie and Clive were forced to move to a suburb called Western, an area consisting largely of coloured and black people. Minnie reflects :

> "It was terrible because it was lower class people, so the neighbourhood wasn't good and I was very unhappy about the house ... It was the only one left in that area so we had to take it. There was no electricity and no water and the house had no doors or windows and there was also no ceiling. I couldn't believe it but we had no choice ... My children really suffered because they struggled to find friends. Most of the other children belonged to gangs ... There were some good people there but generally things were bad for us in those years."

Due to financial constraints the family continued to stay in Western for the following ten years whereafter they moved to a coloured area which was a much improved situation for them.

10.6 Minnie's Family of Origin

Initially Minnie's family all rejected her when she and Clive first formed their relationship, although her eldest brother was not as adamant as her father and other siblings were. This brother had originally befriended Clive and was in fact responsible for inviting him to their home in the first instance. Their friendship faltered somewhat but was later restored when he gave Minnie and Clive the money to go to Kimberley to get married. He later married a coloured woman and they had three children. He is now deceased but Minnie and Clive remained on good terms with him and his wife throughout his life. The youngest two daughters in the family also later became involved in mixed-race relationships. The second youngest daughter married an Asian man and they had three children. They are happily married and Minnie still has regular contact with this sister whom she describes as very supportive. Her husband has also subsequently passed away.

The youngest child in Minnie's family of origin, also a daughter, Charlene, had a relationship with a coloured man by whom she had a daughter, Stacey. The couple decided against marriage as they were both young at the time and they did not feel ready for a marital commitment. However, they remained on good terms and Stacey's father has through the years provided some financial support, whilst maintaining a keen interest in her upbringing. Minnie describes Stacey as having coloured features: "You could see who her father was, it wasn't as if she could be mistaken for white". Charlene later met and married a white man and the couple moved to a white suburb in Johannesburg. They had two more children and Stacey had to stay in the backyard because the Group Areas Act did not permit coloureds to stay in a white residential area. Charlene and her husband were afraid that the neighbours would see that they had a coloured child.

Minnie comments :

> "Eventually I couldn't stand it anymore so I told them that they couldn't carry on doing this to the child ... I said that they must put Stacey into a boarding school and that she can come and stay with me during the school holidays ... So I brought her up as my own, she kept in contact with her father and she sometimes used to go to him during the holidays ... He married a coloured woman and they had two children. The family was very good to her but it was me she used to call 'Mom' ... I had her from the age of six years old."

Minnie and Charlene have a close relationship. Minnie feels that Charlene was not ashamed about the fact that Stacey was coloured. However, her husband rejected the child and was very glad when she went to live with Minnie. "But Charlene knew that I would love Stacey like my own so although it hurt her to give her (Stacey) up, I know she was grateful to me for finding a solution." Charlene and her husband are still married and Stacey later married a coloured man.

Minnie had two older brothers and a younger sister, all of whom married white spouses and never accepted the fact that Minnie, her eldest brother and the two youngest sisters had become involved in interracial relationships. Although she made attempts to stay on good terms with them and keep in regular contact :

> "... they didn't make us feel welcome when we visited, they acted like we were not good enough for them. And, they would never come to my home, I always was the one who went to see them, so eventually I stopped going ... A rift

> developed in the family and we were split in half over this thing ... I haven't seen them for years. My dad as well, although he never actually approved of my marriage to Clive, he loved his grandchildren and always wanted to see them."

(See Figure 3, Genogram : Clive and Minnie).

10.7 The Nuclear Family

Clive and Minnie had ten children, seven daughters and three boys. The eldest daughter died at the age of four years after suffering from meningitis. The remaining nine children are now all married and have children of their own. Minnie has a total of 24 grandchildren.

Three of Minnie's daughters are interracially married. One daughter is married to a black man and they have four children. Minnie comments that they are happily married and that her daughter is raising the children as coloured. They were registered as coloured and they speak English as their first language. They live in a predominantely coloured area in Johannesburg. They attend a largely coloured school and are devout Roman Catholics.

Minnie's two youngest daughters are married to Asian men. The youngest daughter, who lives in Cape Town is described by Minnie as happily married. The couple have two children. Her daughter has decided to remain a Roman Catholic, which her husband accepts but the children are being raised in the Moslem religion and were registered as Asians.

The second youngest daughter is separated from her husband. She and her two children were living with Minnie. Conflict appears to be centered around religion and the

raising of the children. According to Minnie her daughter is a devout Roman Catholic and when the couple decided to marry it was agreed that she would remain Catholic and that the children would be raised according to the Catholic religion. Initially the marriage was successful since her husband was not very concerned about his own faith which was Moslem. However, subsequent to the couple having two children, the husband's family, unhappy about the children being Catholic, began to "put pressure" on their son to raise the children according to the Moslem religion. The couple were unable to resolve this issue and Minnie sadly realises that they will probably get divorced.

> "It really upsets me to see my children unhappy and I have always stressed to them the importance of marriage and that they must try and make things work. None of my children are divorced, they are all happily married except for this one but they have tried and I don't think things will come right."

10.8 Racial Identity

In the 1950's Minnie took the decision to change her racial classification from white to coloured. Minnie motivated this decision by stating that she was starting to :

> "... feel more coloured than white. My children had been classified as coloured so I thought even if Clive died, I couldn't change the fact that I had coloured children. I realised that what had happened to Charlene could happen to me[2]. In the beginning I knew that by marrying Clive and having his

2 Minnie was expressing her concern that her children would be rejected should she decide to marry a white person.

children I would never be accepted by the white community again. If I had to remarry it would be to a coloured man who would accept my children. I found the coloureds to be very accepting of me in general. Of course there were exceptions, but mostly they treated me as one of their own. I started to feel coloured because most of our friends as well as my children's friends were coloured ... The only whites I ever really saw were my two sisters and my eldest brother and they understood because they were in the same position as me. They also didn't fit into the white community, except for Charlene, she basically mixed only with whites ... It seemed that being classified as white wasn't so important so I decided to change. It wasn't a difficult decision."

10.9 Graham's Experience

Graham is the seventh child of Clive and Minnie. He is married to a coloured wife and the couple have two children, both daughters. Graham has brown hair and eyes and a medium to dark complexion. He has predominantly coloured features although there are some signs of an Asian heritage. He has a matric qualification and is currently studying towards his Bachelor of Commerce degree through the University of South Africa. Graham relates his childhood experiences with insight and sensitivity, bringing into focus some of the advantages and disadvantages of being the child of a mixed-race couple.

10.10 Racial Identity : Graham

Graham views himself as "very definitely coloured" and feels very closely affiliated with

the coloured cultural group. The majority of his friends are coloured but he does have a few black friends as well. He never saw himself as mixed-race.

> "From an early age, as far as I can remember, I thought of myself as coloured. The fact that my mom was white didn't seem to matter. My dad saw himself as coloured, he looked more coloured than Indian although he had a fairly dark skin ... I don't think any of my brothers and sisters saw themselves as anything other than coloured either, although two of my sisters are very fair-skinned and could be mistaken for white."

10.11 Residential Areas

Moving from Doornfontein to Western was an unpleasant experience for Graham.

> "All of us found it very difficult to adapt. We had had a very cosy house in Doornfontein and Western was totally different. The house was really terrible and it was a rough neighbourhood with quite a lot of blacks ... We had a hard time at first, we were picked on a lot because we spoke English and because most of the other kids belonged to gangs and we didn't ... My parents told us that we must keep ourselves apart but it was impossible even we used to walk a different route to school every day ... Eventually we learnt to fend for ourselves, at times we had to fight back. It was much better when we moved to (a coloured area)."

10.12 Racial Incidents

Graham recalls an incident in which he, some of his siblings and their friends went to the Westdene dam with Clive (Graham's father). There were a group of white children there as well and a conflict situation developed between the two groups of children. Many of the white children had been accompanied by their fathers who stepped in to intervene at the same time that Clive tried to settle the clash between the children. This led to a confrontation between Clive and the group of white men, resulting in a physical assault on Clive by several of the men. Graham recalls the day vividly and feels that the incident had an impact on his attitude towards whites. "It is a terrible thing when you are a child to see someting like this happening to your father, you feel very helpless, but also bitter".

10.13 Racial Attitude

Looking back Graham feels that he tended to mistrust whites :

> "... I was very wary of them[3], those that were good to me, I saw as the exception ... But my attitude has changed a lot over the years and I don't see things as so definite anymore ... I think I am a more sensitive person today. I am able to see both sides of the picture and perhaps my upbringing has helped me to get on with people of all levels and backgrounds. I used to be very aware of racial issues and

3 Graham was referring to whites, in particular members of his mothers family.

> very sensitive to racism but now I prefer to see people for what they are regardless of race ... At one stage I was very sensitive to black people and I think that I wasn't always objective. In my present position as a supervisor I am quite strict on discipline and I won't let people use race as an excuse."

10.14 Clinical Impressions, Discussion and Comments

Minnie told her story gently and with dignity. As she explains, the proximity to other race groups led to her relationship with Clive. But in order to get married to him Minnie had to give up many things, including the support of her family as well as her racial identity. Perhaps Minnie was not aware of all that she would have to sacrifice since her marriage in 1948 preceeded the legislation with regard to Group Areas, Population Registration and the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages. Minnie discusses her change of racial identity as if she had made the choice to become coloured when in fact by marrying Clive she was legally no longer allowed to call herself white.

Similarly one must wonder how Clive must have felt when he was forced to change his surname. Although he identified himself as coloured he had an Asian surname. Since he was the only son there was no chance of the name being carried forward by another sibling. Minnie indicated that this issue had caused Clive's father some distress.

Then there were the racial incidents which occurred. Minnie does not dramatise these events but they remain vivid memories. It could be argued that these incidents were short-lived but the same can not be said of the family's removal from their home. The move to the suburb of Western seemed to have had a great impact on the family, resulting in a

lowered standard of living. Furthermore, there was the difficulty of Minnie's sister, Charlene's child Stacey. The fact that she was obviously coloured had to be kept a secret from the neighbours lest they report her presence in a white suburb. Although Minnie did not directly say that Stacey was not accepted by Charlene's husband the implication was there. One can only wonder how Charlene must have felt to literally give Stacey to Minnie who ultimately raised her as her own. Despite being three quarters white and being raised by a white mother Stacey seems to have identified herself as a coloured.

Graham clearly did not experience racial identity problems but admits to a personal struggle in relating to whites. The rift in Minnie's family may have contributed to this in addition to the racial incident which took place at Westdene dam. Graham seems to have overcome this and considers that he is now able to relate well to all people. In that sense he experiences his parents marriage to have had a positive influence on him.

It was evident that Graham and Minnie have a close relationship and Minnie appears to have found fulfilment in the role of motherhood and homemaker. Despite the negative experiences described by Minnie she stated that she had "no regrets" and had had a satisfying life.

The theme of religion appears to have played a key role in Minnie and Clive's relationship as well as with Minnie's two daughters who are married to Moslem husbands. Minnie's willingness to commit herself to the Catholic religion seems to have been important to Clive. However, the fact that a compromise concerning religion could not be found between Minnie's youngest daughter and her husband appears to be the cause of the breakdown in their relationship. Her other daughter has overcome this problem.

Minnie's willingness to break the norm of racial endogamy within her family of origin may have paved the way for similar relationships between other siblings. Perhaps they were

aware that should they also enter into interracial partnerships they would not be alone. This may be transmitted to subsequent generations, hence the fact that three of Minnie's children are interracially married. On the other hand Clive's father's experience with regard to his parents seemed to have made him more cautious about Clive and Minnie's relationship.

Several deductions can be drawn from the data obtained :

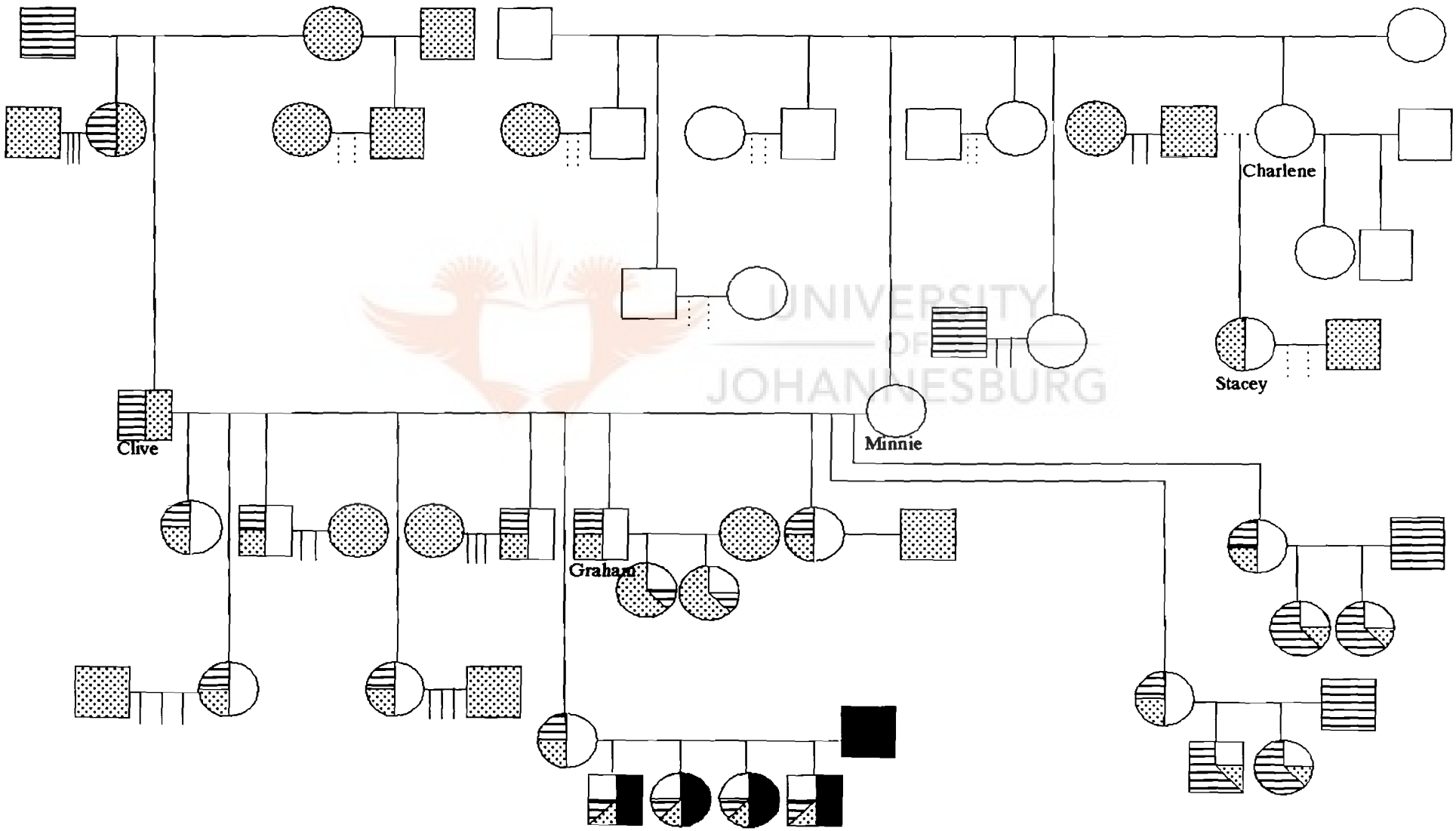
* Religion can be an important factor in interracial relationships.

* It propably becomes easier to break the norm of endogamy in subsequent generations once it has been previously broken.

* One can begin to identify more strongly with another racial group by a process of assimilation and this seems to lead to the rejection of one's original racial identity.

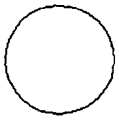
Figure 3

Genogram : Clive and Minnie



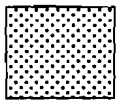
Key to Genogram : Clive and Minnie


Male

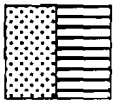

Female


White


Asian


Coloured


Black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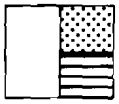
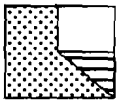
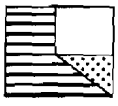

Mixed Race - 1/2 White / 1/4 Asian / 1/4 Coloured


Mixed Race - 5/8 Coloured / 1/4 White / 1/8 Asian


Mixed Race - 1/2 Black / 1/4 White / 1/8 Coloured / 1/8 Asian


Mixed Race - 5/8 Asian / 1/4 White / 1/8 Coloured


Number of children of unknown sex


Children of unknown number and sex

CHAPTER 11

CASE NUMBER 4

LEON AND ESTHER : A WHITE/BLACK INTERRACIAL MARRIAGE

Leon, a 46 year old white man, born in Belgium married Esther, a 41 year old Zulu-speaking black woman. The couple, married in South Africa in 1987, have one son, Steven, born in 1988.

Leon was interviewed at his place of work in September 1993. The interview lasted for approximately one and a half hours. Leon volunteered to take part in the study after being requested to do so by a mutual friend. Leon was willing to answer all questions put to him during the interview and had no objection to his and his family's first names and surname being used in the study. However, all names have been changed for reasons of confidentiality.

11.1 Profile : Leon

Leon is a slender man of average height. He has light brown hair which is greying slightly and blue eyes behind rather thick glasses. Leon speaks with a heavy Dutch accent (his first language) and his English is not very fluent. He sometimes struggles to express himself. He has the equivalent of a Standard 10 education as well as his trade test as an electrician, a position in which he is currently employed. His gross earnings are approximately R3 375,00 per month. Leon is a non-practising Roman Catholic.

11.2 Profile : Esther

Esther is of medium height and build. She has African features and her Zulu-speaking family originally hail from the Eastern Transvaal. Esther speaks English well and presents

as an articulate, friendly individual. She was employed as a receptionist/switchboard operator in a Johannesburg hotel. Her gross earnings were R750,00 per month. Ester has a Standard 8 education and is a non-practising Protestant.

11.3 Family Background : Leon

Leon came to South Africa some ten years ago as he had the urge to travel and had difficulty finding work in Belgium. At first he could barely speak English but through practise it has slowly improved. Leon loves living in South Africa and although he has been back to Belgium for visits, he is happily settled and is not considering leaving the country.

Leon's family of origin are still living in Belgium. His mother passed away before he moved to South Africa and he has a younger sister residing with their father, who has never married. Leon explains that the family never associated with other race groups primarily because there were very few blacks or Asians in Belgium. Since the nuclear and extended family were never exposed to other racial groups, he does not think that any member of his family had strong views on the matter either way. However, Leon and his sister were never discouraged from associating with anyone who may have been from a different race, religion or culture. To his knowledge no member of his extended family has ever been involved in an interracial relationship.

11.4 Family Background : Esther

Esther's mother passed away shortly after she was born. She has an elder brother who is still single. Esther's father and mother were married according to custom. After her mother died, her father legally married a black woman, Esther's step-mother, and the

couple had 11 children, seven daughters and four sons, all of whom are married to black spouses, except for the eldest son who is married to a coloured wife. Esther sees her natural brother fairly regularly since he lives in Johannesburg. She does not keep in regular contact with her half-brothers and half-sisters since most of them reside in the Eastern Transvaal. She does, however, see her father and step-mother fairly regularly although they also reside in the Eastern Transvaal.

Prior to meeting Leon, Esther had been involved in two previous relationships with black men, one when she was 17 years of age and the other when she was 32 years old. She has a daughter from each relationship. Purity, her eldest daughter is 18 years of age and is in Standard 8 at a school in the Eastern Transvaal. Purity's father left Esther a year after she was born and has not contributed to her maintenance. Esther is unaware of where he is residing and has had no contact with him subsequent to his leaving her. Esther's second daughter, Avril, is nine years old and is in Standard 1, also at a school in the Eastern Transvaal. Avril's father left shortly after her birth and has also not supported her financially at all. Esther has no idea of his whereabouts. Both daughters are living with Esther's father and step-mother. (See Figure 4, Genogram : Leon and Esther).

11.5 Early Relationship

Esther works as a receptionist/switchboard operator in a residential hotel in Johannesburg and it was there that the couple first met. Leon moved into the hotel and stayed there for two years. At that stage Esther also had a room in the hotel. Leon talks about their initial meeting :

> "Esther is a very friendly person, always helpful, so we started to get to know each other like that, just chatting, saying hello.

> Then one Saturday, about six months after I had moved into the hotel, Esther was just leaving to go out at the same time as I was going out and she looked very good in her dress, without her normal uniform on, so I asked her if she would like to have a drink with me. But Esther is a non-drinker, she hates alcohol so she invited me up to her room for coffee instead that evening and that's how it started."

The couple do not socialise much since neither of the two had many friends and Esther preferred to stay at the hotel. However, they spent most of their spare time together over the next two years of courtship.

During that period, Leon lost his job due to retrenchment and was forced to move in with a friend for a two month period since he could no longer afford the hotel accommodation. He continued to visit Esther in her hotel room and subsequently found another job. He decided not to return to the hotel and rented a bachelor flat in Berea instead. "That is when I decided that I would like to have a family so I asked Esther to marry me". Esther accepted and after a court marriage the couple moved into a bigger flat in Johannesburg where they were still staying at the time of the interview.

11.6 Marital Relationship

Leon contends that intially the couple were very happy together. He was overjoyed when their son, Steven, was born a year after their marriage. When Steven was a year old, Leon and Esther took him to Belgium so that Leon's father could meet him.

Leon recalls :

> "My father really spoilt him, he bought many presents and he was very proud of Steven. This is his only grandchild because I don't think my sister will get married, she is already 44 years with no boyfriend ... Esther was also very excited to be going to Belgium. She had never been out of South Africa before and she loved it there. My father spoilt her too with presents, he sends us money in South Africa when he can."

Unfortunately after about two years the couple began to experience problems. Esther's daughters, Purity and Avril came to live with them and Leon struggled to form a relationship with Purity. He attributes this to the initial difficulty which created the marital breakdown.

> "Purity is lazy and spoilt, she just sits around all day expecting Esther to do everything for her. But still Esther takes her side ... So we had big fights in the house. That's when I started to drink more and more and then this caused more fights. Esther hates drinking, things were very bad for us for about two years."

During that time an additional problem was caused by the fact that Purity became pregnant and refused to name the father, although Leon suspects that it was one of the residents in the flats where they live, a black youngster of about 16 years old. Since Purity was herself only 16 years old at the time there was no possibility of the two forming a permanent relationship.

Eventually Leon's place of work intervened as his drinking began to affect his performance

on the job. He was referred to SANCA for counselling and was also given "antibooze[1]" tablets. The couple began attending counselling sessions together and Leon then stopped drinking. A mutual decision was reached that Purity and Avril would return to Esther's father and step-mother's care in the Eastern Transvaal and would only visit Leon and Ester during school vacations. Purity's child is, however being raised by Leon and Esther and was at the time of the interview 16 months old. Leon had not touched alcohol for the past two years.

11.7 Area of Residence

Leon and Esther were at the time of the interview residing in Johannesburg in a rented flat. This is a cosmopolitan, low income area, close to the city centre. The majority of the residents are black but a wide spectrum of cultural groups live in the area. Leon does not enjoy living in this area as he feels that it is too dangerous and he does not want the children to grow up so close to the city. However, the couple's son, Steven, aged five years, was in a play school at the time, which was conveniently located in the basement of the flats in which they stayed. Since Steven was to start primary school in 1994, Leon was reluctant to move him from the play group at that stage. It was the couple's intention to move to another suburb in early 1994 so that Steven could attend a predominantly white school.

11.8 Child Raising

Steven is being raised according to the white culture. He speaks only English since Leon

1 A tablet which when taken in conjunction with alcohol produces nausea and vomiting.

cannot speak Zulu and Esther cannot speak Dutch. Leon does not want Steven to speak any language other than English. The play group Steven attends consists mainly of black children, although there are also some coloured and two white children. English is the language spoken in the play group although the teachers are black. Steven's closest friends are black children who live in the same block of flats and attend the same play group. He does not know any other children of mixed-race.

Steven has a medium complexion with curly brown hair and brown eyes. He has coloured features. He is an active child with an inquisitive mind. Leon describes Steven as strong-willed and a bit spoilt. His performance in the playgroup is in the average range, although Leon maintains that he could do better but he is too energetic and doesn't like to sit still and concentrate.

Purity's child, a daughter named Pretty "but we call her Betty" is also being raised mainly according to the white culture but with aspects of the Zulu culture as well. Betty is being taught English as her first language but Purity speaks Zulu to her when she sees her daughter during the school vacations. "Steven calls Betty his sister and we think of her as our own". Betty will attend the same school as Steven when she is old enough.

11.9 Racial Identity

Leon found it difficult to consider Steven as any particular race :

> "He is just my son, my number one, I suppose he is coloured but I don't think of him like that. Esther says he is coloured. One time we had a bit of an argument about that because once I picked Steven up and said to him, 'So how's my little

Bushie[2] today', Esther was very angry, she has a big temper and she shouted at me, she said, 'He is not a bushman, he is a coloured'. After that, we never spoke about race again, but to me he's not a coloured. I was just making a joke but Esther is very sensitive about things like that. To me Steven is a South African."

11.10 Socialising

Leon and Esther do not socialise much and do not know any other mixed race couples. They are however aware of a large number of interracial families who reside in the area. Leon and Esther prefer each other's company but do sometimes socialise with Esther's brother and other family members.

Steven tends to play with the other children in the nursery school who are mainly black. He sometimes goes to play at these children's homes while at times they come to play at Leon and Esther's flat.

11.11 Racial Incidents and Views

Shortly after Leon and Esther were married an incident occurred that almost cost Leon his job. Leon's English tends to be rather poor and being reserved, he has difficulty making friends. As such his fellow colleagues did not know much of his personal life and were unaware that he was married to a black woman. He and a few of his colleagues were taking a break from work when an attractive black woman happened to walk past. On the

2 Slang term for members of the Bushman culture, a group of people residing largely in the Kalahari desert in Namibia.

day that the incident occurred one of his colleagues passed a sexually suggestive and racially insulting comment. He claimed that he found the woman attractive and despite the fact that she was black he would still enjoy having sexual relations with her. Leon found the comment racial and insulting and angrily exclaimed that he was married to a black woman and that his colleagues should refrain from such comments.

The incident was later reported to the foreman by Leon's colleague who called Leon into his office the following day and asked him to resign as the company would not tolerate employees who were married to blacks working for them. Subsequently Leon reported the discussion to the Engineer in charge of the department who chastised the foreman for his attitude. However, interpersonal relations in the section had been affected and Leon was shunned by his colleagues. He again approached the Engineer requesting a transfer to another section. This was granted, although by that stage it was common knowledge that Leon was involved in a mixed-race marriage. But, by then much of the gossip had ceased and he found the new section to which he was tranferred, more acceptable.

Leon discussed his views regarding his experiences in South Africa and the fact that he is in a mixed race marriage, saying :

> "I find the whites very racist, it doesn't matter if they are English or Afrikaans, they seem to think there is something wrong with you if you marry a black woman. They stare and pass rude comments when Esther and I are together. We don't go out much but when we do it is always a white person who will say something, not the blacks so much. But they are funny in other ways, they are so sensitive about race, Esther as well. They hate it if you criticise them in any way, then they get all upset and start going on at you. Whites can take criticism better but the blacks seem to hate it. Maybe they can

take it from other blacks and just not from me because I'm white ... I can't say that I liked black women more than white women, I never had many girlfriends in the past ... But, none of them were black before I met Esther, I just married her because she was a good person and we fell in love. I never think of her as black, she is just my wife."

11.12 Clinical Impressions, Discussion and Comments

Leon hails from a country where racial attitudes and tolerance appear to be more lenient than in South Africa. He did not have many friends in the country and subsequently his continual contact with Esther led to their relationship. The initial attraction seems to have been physical and according to Leon thoughts of marriage stemmed from his desire to raise a family.

Difficulties concerning Leon and Purity's relationship caused friction in the marriage. Leon's drinking increased which further exacerbated the problem. Happily the couple were able to resolve these issues and find a compromise.

The respective extended families showed no prejudice towards the relationship. Black families seem to be more tolerant with respect to interracial marriage. The fact that Leon's parents are not South African may account for their lack of discrimination.

The couple have chosen to raise Steven as an English-speaking South African seemingly in an attempt to link his identity with his nationality. However, there does appear to be a degree of conflict with regard to Steven's racial identity. Esther is more willing to accept Steven as coloured while Leon is reluctant to focus on the issue of race.

The racial incident which ocurred at Leon's workplace reveals that there is still a high degree of prejudice amongst certain sections of the South African community. The fact

that Leon was almost dismissed and had to be transferred provides further evidence of how strongly attitudes are held.

Several issues can be identified from this case study :

* Immigrants may be more open to interracial marriage than white South Africans.

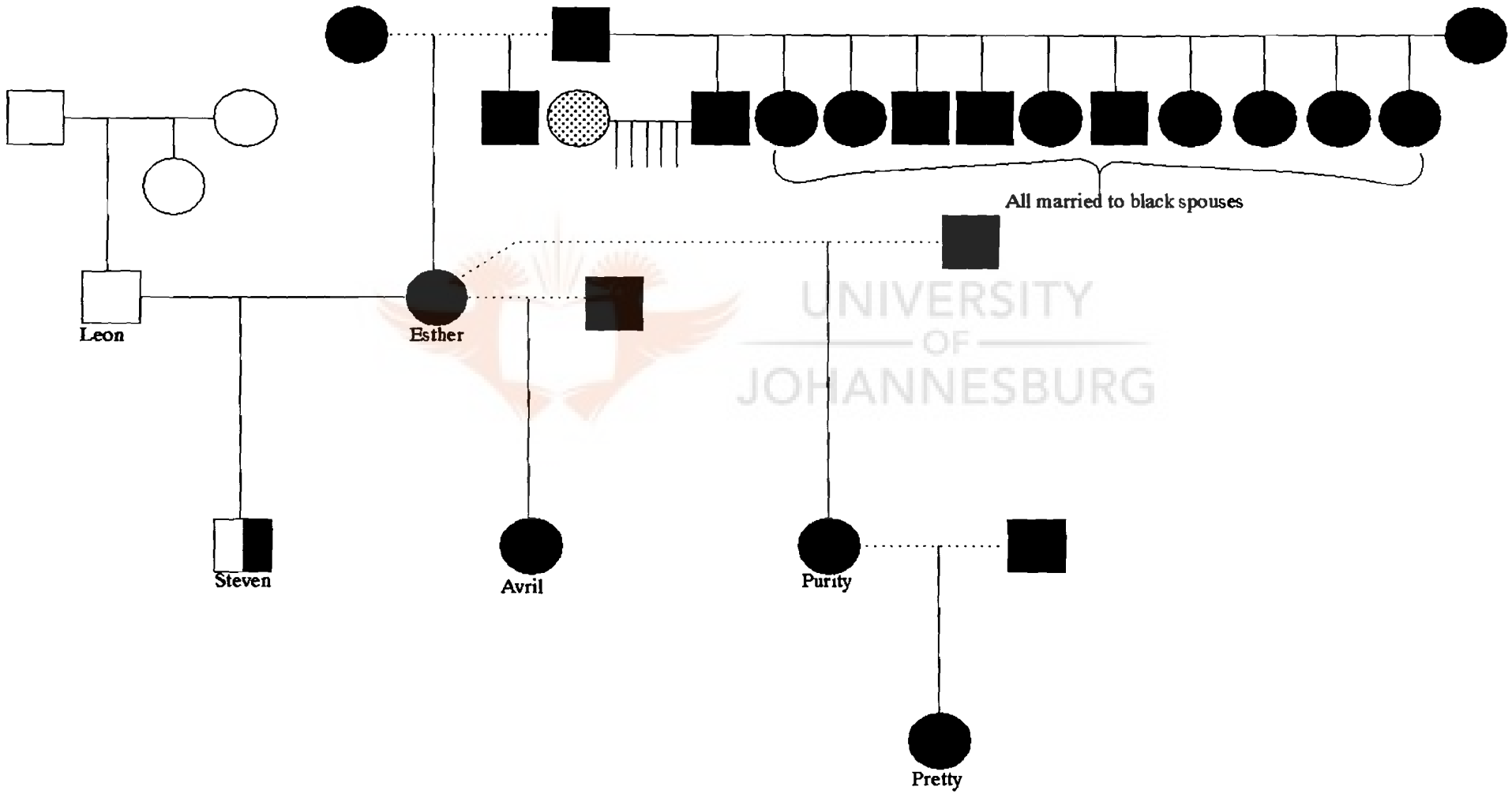
* The extended families of immigrants may be more accepting of mixed marriage. And, black extended families may be more accepting than white.

* Mixed couples may choose a national identity for their children rather than one based on race.

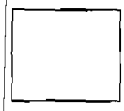
* Despite changes in the legislation, certain sections of the community remain intolerant of interracial relationships.

Figure 4

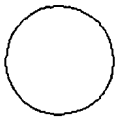
Genogram : Leon and Esther



Key to Genogram : Leon and Esther



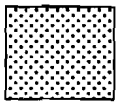
Male



Female

White

Black



Coloured

Mixed Race - 1/2 Black / 1/2 White

A relationship

Number of children of unknown sex

CHAPTER 12

CASE NUMBER 5

ED AND ELLEN : FOUR GENERATIONS OF MIXED MARRIAGES

Ed, a British born white male, aged 57 years married Ellen, a 54 year old woman of mixed origin in 1957. The couple, now divorced, have two sons aged 28 and 26 years old, one of whom is married to a coloured woman, the other to a white woman. Ellen's parents were both of mixed origin and her grandparents, now deceased were both interracially married.

Ellen was interviewed in October 1993 at her place of work after being approached via a mutual contact. Although somewhat reluctant at first, she eventually agreed. The interview was approximately one and a half hours in duration.

Ellen would not permit her first name or surname to be used and requested that pseudonoms be used instead for herself and all other members of her family. She chose the names that appear in the text.

12.1 Profile : Ellen

Ellen has brown shoulder length hair, green eyes and a fair complexion. She is an extroverted person who dresses in a flamboyant style. She looks far younger than her age. Ellen has her "0" levels[1] which she obtained in Swaziland where she was born. Ellen is employed as a secretary and earns approximately R3 000,00 per month. She

1 The equivalent of matric according to the British education system.

considers herself to be a Christian but does not go to church. Although fairly open during the interview, Ellen seemed reluctant to talk in depth on certain issues. She answered all questions put to her but tended to gloss over details at times particularly when discussing her current situation and the reasons for her divorce.

12.2 Profile : Ed

Ed was born in England, the youngest of two sons. Ellen describes Ed as "Nordic in looks. He has blond hair, a fair complexion and blue-green eyes". Ed also had "0" levels which he obtained in England. He then joined the Royal Air Force and worked as a pilot. Ed was born into the Christian faith but seldom attended church. Both Ed's parents are British and his family have always stayed in England.

12.3 Family Background : Ellen

Ellen was born in Swaziland, the eldest daugther in a family of five children. She has four younger brothers, all of whom are now married to black, Siswati-speaking women, who reside in Swaziland with their families.

Ellen's paternal grandparents were interracially married. Her grandfather was a white man of Scottish origin who came to Swaziland when he was 18 years of age. There he met and married Ellen's paternal grandmother, a black woman of Swazi origin. Ellen's father, of British nationality, was born in Swaziland.

Ellen's maternal grandparents were also interracially married. Her maternal grandfather was a white man of British origin who came to South Africa while in his early twenties. While travelling in Swaziland he met Ellen's grandmother, a black Siswati-speaking woman. The couple moved to South Africa and were later married in the Transvaal.

Ellen's mother was born in South Africa and has South African nationality. Ellen's maternal grandparents subsequently moved back to Swaziland with their family of two daughters. Ellen's mother and aunt both had very fair complexions and considered themselves to be of mixed origin rather than coloured.

Ellen's aunt later moved back to South Africa and married a white man. Ellen relates that she disassociated herself from the rest of her family in Swaziland preferring to :

> "pass as white ... She had two children, a son who you could see wasn't white and a daughter, who definitely looked very white. That side of the family have tried to deny their roots. My cousin, call her Lily, married a Portuguese man and they have two children but her husband has got no idea that she is actually ... mixed-race. It has caused a rift in the family because my aunt managed to get herself registered as white ... in those days you could sometimes get away with those things although of course her husband knew that she was actually of mixed-race. My mother never actually forgave her for rejecting the family like that. So that caused problems ... then her own two children don't associate with each other because Lily wants to pretend she's white and her brother looks coloured. The thing is my aunt encouraged Lily so in the end my cousins each just act as if the other doesn't exist. Lily lives as a white person with her Portuguese husband in Natal. Apparently they have got a son and a daughter although I've never seen them. The one is supposed to be quite dark but then again the Portuguese can be dark at times so I don't think there were any suspicions ... I don't agree with that, my children always knew their roots even though they look completely white, I mean no-one ever thinks that I am of mixed origin myself."

Once back in Swaziland Ellen's parents met and were married there. Five children were born to the couple.

> "My parents were never bothered about their origins. I think they were proud of their heritage but they were both raised mainly in Swaziland and they thought of themselves as Swazis. They always explained to us that we were of mixed origin and we accepted that, we never tried to pretend that we were white. I was a bit different from my brothers though ... very restless by nature. I am the fairest, they all have a light brown skin colour, although one of my brothers is also quite fair, he looks continental. My brothers were all happy to stay in Swaziland, they were not interested in exploring the world ... but I always wanted to travel. They have all settled down in Swaziland with their families. My parents are still living there as well. They are in their seventies now ... When I was 16 years old I had finished my "O" levels and I decided to travel, so I went to the Far East and found work as a secretary in Malaya. That's where I met Ed, we got married when I was 18 years old, he was 21 years old at the time."

(See Figure 5, Genogram : Ed and Ellen).

12.4 Early Relationship

Ellen desribes her early relationship with Ed :

> "Ed was like me, he wanted to travel and see the world. So when he finished his "O" levels he joined the Royal Air Force and was eventually posted to Malaya. We met through friends. It was love at first sight and we got married a few months after we met. I think I was more in love with him because he was this officer in the Air Force and was being posted all over ... It seemed exciting and I was very young. We travelled to Malta and Malasia and then returned to England. While we were travelling our marriage was good because it was something we had in common. We both loved to meet new people and experience life. We didn't want to have children because that would have made things difficult. But then we decided to start a family and Ed was posted back to London. That's where my two sons were born. Peter and James both have British Nationality."

Ellen was 26 years old when her eldest son, Peter was born and two years later she gave birth to her second son, James. She did not enjoy living in London as she struggled to fit into the lifestyle there and found the weather very cold. She did not get along with her parents-in- law and described them as unfriendly and rejecting.

> "I don't think they thought I was good enough for their son, maybe because of race but I actually found them to be a bit coarse ... of a lower class. Ed was like that too, that's what led to the end of our relationship."

Ellen reflects that the relationship began to deteriorate in London where she was very unhappy. She felt isolated from her family whom she had not seen for many years. In an

effort to save her marriage as well as because she was homesick, Ellen managed to persuade Ed to move to South Africa. She was working at that stage and Ed was still in the Royal Airforce doing a job that he did not particularly enjoy. He resigned and the couple moved to Johannesburg where Ed found work as a pilot and Ellen began work again as a secretary. The children were four and six years old at the time.

12.5 Living in South Africa

The family found accommodation in a white middle-class area on the East Rand. This was around the year 1972 at the stage when the Group Areas Act was still in existence. As such, Ellen never mentioned to anyone that she was of mixed origin and the family lived as whites.

> "All our friends were white and we knew that we would not be accepted by South Africans if they knew that I was of mixed origin. People would have thought of me as coloured and I don't like that, I'm not coloured."

To Ellen's knowledge there were no other mixed couples living in the area at the time. Ellen is currently still residing in the same house that the couple bought when they first moved to South Africa and she still considers the area to be largely white. The family only socialised with whites and Ellen still today has mainly white friends.

Ed and Ellen's relationship began to deteriorate further but the couple stayed together for the sake of their sons. They were eventually divorced some 15 years later in about 1988. Ellen was reluctant to talk in depth about the reasons for the break-up but was adamant that it had nothing to do with racial issues.

> "Ed was a rather rough person, at times he could be very uncouth. I found this difficult to take. He could be very rude in public and in front of our friends and this used to cause me tremendous embarrassment. Sometimes he used to drink too much and then he would be even worse. I stuck it out for as long as I could but in the end I wanted something better for myself and the children ... I must say though for all Ed's faults he was definitely not a racist and the fact that I was of mixed origin never worried him at all. I was more afraid that people would find out, not for myself but for the children's sake ... he (Ed) didn't agree with the whole apartheid system at all."

After the couple got divorced Ed gave the house to Ellen as part of her settlement and he moved into a house closer to central Johannesburg. Ellen does not see much of him since the children have left home.

12.6 Child Raising

Ed and Ellen's eldest son Peter, was born in England in 1965.

> "... he is Greek looking, he is more like me. He has got dark hair and brown eyes but he has got white features so no-one thought that he was anything other than white when he was at school. He is a wonderful person, very soft and gentle, with a kind heart."

Ed and Ellen's second son, James was also born in England in 1967. Ellen describes him as very different in physical appearance and personality from Peter.

> "... they don't even look like brothers. James has blond hair and green eyes. He is a very dignified person but he tends to be more like his father in personality. He is very ambitious but he's also quite hard really, not like Peter."

Both children went to school in the East Rand. All their school friends were white. Ellen was open with them with regard to their background but was concerned that they would have to move out of the area should it be known that she was of mixed origin. Since no-one ever found out, the children grew up thinking of themselves mainly as white since they were being raised in that manner. Their home language was English since Ed could only speak English. The children learnt Afrikaans at school as their second language. Although Ellen speaks Siswati as her first language she did not try to teach the children a black language. "I thought it would be better not to because otherwise people might have become suspicious". Ellen was determined that her sons would not be "embarrassed" about their background, so the family made frequent trips to Swaziland for holidays to stay with her family there. At times Ed stayed at home, particularly when there were problems between the couple. Ellen contends that she wanted her sons to be given the chance to choose their own lifestyle.

> "I wanted them to know that they didn't have to make the same choices that I had made. I didn't want to raise them to think that they were whites ... they were quite aware of their grandparents and their heritage. Although we mixed mainly with whites I didn't want them to get the idea that made them better than other people, you know just because they were white. They had to be better because they were dignified, refined young gentlemen, not rough types that you get in all races ... Because of my aunt being the way she is, pretending

> to be white and not associating with the rest of my family, my mother was worried that after I had married Ed and went to live in England, I would also do the same thing ... I wouldn't deny my roots and these are my children's roots also ... She was very pleased when I introduced her to her grandchildren, my father too ... of course they had seen photos but to meet them was something different."

During her stay in England, Ellen had corresponded with her parents. She admitted though, that she received more letters from her family than she herself wrote as she tended to be an erratic correspondent. It was her mother who initially persuaded Ellen to return to South Africa after Ellen had written of the problems that she and Ed were experiencing. Ellen had mentioned that she felt very isolated and was missing the support of her family. Although at the time she initially left home she had not felt very close to either of her parents, she realised how much they had meant to her when she had her own children. Ellen's parents, in particular her mother were keen to teach their grandchildren to speak Siswati but on that point Ellen was adamant. However, she welcomed their learning other aspects of the Swazi culture and since she herself had always been fascinated by stories of her ancestry, she encouraged the children to learn about their family tree. "They were quite interested themselves and used to love listening to my parents ... my mother was a good story teller." Both children accepted their maternal grandparents readily and were closer to them than to their paternal grandparents. After moving to South Africa neither of the children saw their paternal grandparents for many years. The youngest son, James, saw his grandparents during a brief stay in England after matriculating. Peter, the eldest son, now lives in England but moved there two years ago at which stage his grandfather had already passed away. His grandmother died some six months after he had moved to England.

12.7 Cultural Identity : Ellen

Ellen was very sure that she did not want to be thought of as a coloured person.

> "I don't like coloured ... I think of myself as a Swazi but I don't hold Swazi nationality ... this still makes me feel very angry because that is where I was born. Anyone who is not pure black or a white person battles to get Swazi nationality. I hold British nationality because I claimed it through my grandfather. I have applied for South African citizenship and have already been waiting a long time for it to come through ... but everyone else is also waiting, so I am not the only one."

Ellen looks much younger than her years and has a fair complexion. She made the following comments with regard to her physical appearance :

> "... when I was in Malta everyone thought I was a Maltese girl and when I was in Malaysia, everyone thought that I was Eurasian ... meantime the girl was very African ... but I have always tried to look very smart and presentable. When I meet people for the first time they never think that I am actually of mixed origin because my skin is so fair, they always think I am white ... Ed used to tease me and call me his "All sorts" but I know who I am and that's what counts."

Ellen went on to comment on her relationship with other race groups in general :

> "I have always got on better with whites, especially here in South Africa. I found that the coloureds weren't very accepting of me, I think it was because of the fact that I look white, they all seemed to be envious. I've never really got on well with coloureds although of course, you do get the exception."

12.8 Cultural Identity : Peter and James

Ellen reflected on how her sons regarded their identity and considered that their identity seemed to be largely a product of their present lifestyles.

> "Peter is a bit darker than James but he seems to be more white because he carries himself with the dignity of a white person. He is married to a white girl and they live as whites in England. James is the blond fair one but he can be a bit rough at times. He is married to a coloured girl but he looks completely white. He seems to think of himself as mixed but also as white. Peter really thinks of himself as white but he doesn't deny that he is partly of mixed origin ... Both my sons have got British nationality because they were born in England but they both have also got South African citizenship. James is more like a South African but Peter is more like an Englishman ... Actually they both think of themselves as British ... English. Like me, I don't think of myself in terms of race, it seems that whites are more concerned with race than other people are."

12.9 Profile : Peter

Ellen's eldest son Peter, 28 years of age, is living in England. After matriculating in South Africa he decided to study for a Sales and Marketing Diploma and is currently employed as a sales manager.

Peter always did very well academically and was well liked at school. Ellen maintains that he is "very easy to get on with, we are very close". He never experienced any racial prejudice at school because "no-one knew that he wasn't pure white". He achieved well in the sporting arena and was actively involved in cricket and athletics. Aside from relationships with his cousins in Swaziland he only had relationships with white school friends. He now only associates with whites in the workplace.

In 1991 Peter decided to move to England where he found work as a sales manager. He left South Africa because he was concerned about the level of violence and crime in the country. Since he was in possession of a British passport he felt that England would be the best place to go.

Ellen has not seen Peter since he left South Africa but keeps in regular contact through letters and telephone conversations. Peter met and married a white British born woman a year after moving to England. The couple have no children as yet but Ellen expects that they will be starting a family at some stage. They have no plans to return to South Africa, except perhaps on vacation.

12.10 Profile : James

Ellen's youngest son, James, 26 years of age, lives in Yeoville, a cosmopolitan suburb of

Johannesburg. After matriculating James went to England and stayed with his paternal grandparents for two years. During that time he met his wife, Jackie who is "coloured". She was born in England. After marrying, the couple decided to move back to South Africa. Ellen comments that James is very intelligent and always did well at school, particularly in the subjects, Mathematics and Accounting. He is now involved in banking where he puts these skills to good use. He was also involved in sporting activities at school but not as successfully as Peter was. He participated more as a means of socialising. Ellen reflects that James tended to have a better relationship with his father than with her. "They were more similar in personality".

Ellen has a good relationship with her daughter-in-law, Jackie. The couple have two children, a son of six and a daughter of four years.

> "Both my grandchildren look totally white, especially Megan, the little girl. She has got red hair, auburn actually and green eyes, she is very pretty. Alan, my grandson is also fair-skinned with brown hair and eyes ... Jackie is actually quite dark and this has caused problems for them."

On discussing racial incidents Ellen described an occasion where the couple were walking hand-in-hand together in a shopping centre and a white person walked past them and said, "What are you doing with that Kaffir[2] girl?" Jackie confided in Ellen that these incidents evoke a very aggressive response from James who tends to take this sort of comment more seriously than she does. When the couple were in England they were also exposed to this type of incident but not to the same extent as she experienced in South Africa. But, Jackie feels that she is able to see things in perspective and

2 A term originally meaning a member of the Bantu people but which has taken on derogatory connotations over the years.

acknowledges that one cannot generalise. Although hurt by these comments, she prefers to ignore the situation whereas James feels compelled to lash out, often using physical violence. "James has got a very quick temper and can overreact".

The couple are, however, committed to staying in South Africa and the suburb in which they live has a number of other mixed couples who reside there. They feel that in general, people in South Africa are beginning to become more open and tolerant of different race groups.

12.11 Current Situation : Ellen

Ellen is presently involved in a relationship with a coloured man, Robert, who was born in Cape Town but who lives in Johannesburg. "He is very sophisticated and well travelled, he's an attorney". Ellen comments that although he is fairly dark in complexion : "His education sets him apart ... he's not like most coloured people ." Ellen and Robert had known each other for some time before beginning their relationship. Robert is a few years younger than Ellen and is divorced. He has three children, who are basically grown up" and stay with their mother in Cape Town. Ellen was reluctant to comment in more detail on the relationship but did admit that there was a prospect for a more permanent arrangement.

12.12 Clinical Impressions, Discussion and Comments

Ellen told her story in a hesitant manner. She did not follow a logical sequence of events and at times made contradictory statements. There is a sense of confusion with respect

to racial identity issues. Ellen considers herself to be of mixed origin but the impression was gained that she regarded the white group as having a higher status than other race groups and may covertly wish to be a member thereof. Throughout her life she appears to have sought to identify with the population or nationality of the mainstream group : Hence her statements regarding her ability to blend in with each population group where she has lived. During her marriage to Ed she certainly seems to have been at pains to portray herself as white. This is however understandable considering the political situation at the time.

Difficulties in her marriage seem not to have been related to racial issues but rather perhaps to differences in personality. It appears that the marriage did not have a strong foundation to begin with. Perhaps the only bond was the fact that Ed and Ellen were both away from their respective countries of origin and had a similar love of travelling.

According to Ellen, her two sons Peter and James have formed identities based on their nationality rather than on their race groups. In particular Peter, has returned to England, preferring to live in the country of his birth. James has made his home in South Africa and despite his white appearance, has married a coloured wife. Perhaps he identifies more strongly with his mixed heritage than Ellen believes. Ilen's current relationship with a coloured man may imply that she is identifying more firmly with her own interracial background particularly now that attitudes in South Africa is changing. However, she emphasised that he was "not like most coloured people", according him a higher status due to his education.

Several issues may be highlighted by this case study :

* Individual's living in foreign countries may be more likely to intermarry.

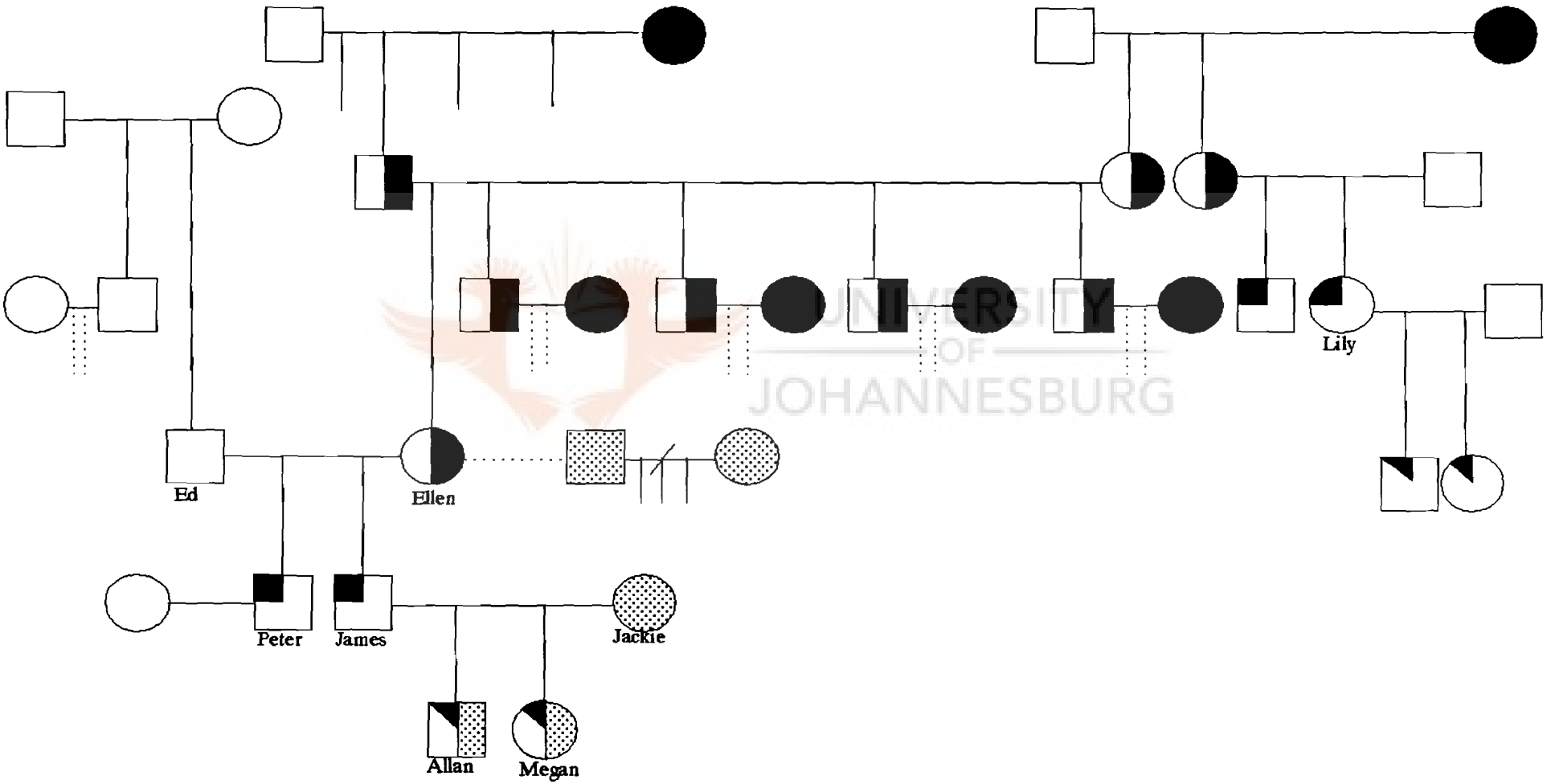
* Identity may be based on more important factors than race, for example, nationality.

* People of mixed origin may be more inclined to base their identities on factors other than race.

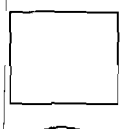
* An acceptance of ones mixed heritage may be fostered by a change of attitude in the mainstream society.

Figure 5

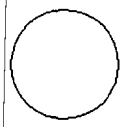
Genogram : Ed and Ellen



Key to Genogram : Ed and Ellen

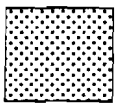


Male



Female

White

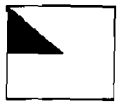


Coloured

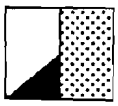
Black

Mixed Race - 1/2 White / 1/2 Black

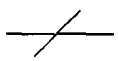
Mixed Race - 3/4 White / 1/4 Black



Mixed Race - 7/8 White / 1/8 Black



Mixed Race - 1/2 Coloured / 3/8 White / 1/8 Black



Divorced

A relationship

Number of children of unknown sex

Children of unknown number and sex

CHAPTER 13

CASE NUMBER 6

JOHAN AND BELINDA : A WHITE/COLOURED MIXED MARRIAGE

Johan, a white Afrikaans-speaking male, aged 23 years married Belinda, a 28 year old coloured Afrikaans-speaking woman in 1992. The couple have one son, Gregory who was born in March 1993. They are also raising a daughter, Vanessa, born in 1989 to Belinda and Dave, a coloured man with whom she had a relationship for several years.

Since Johan and Belinda currently reside on a farm in the Eastern Transvaal it was not possible to interview them. They also do not have a telephone and as such they completed a questionnaire (See Appendix C) which was posted to them. Comments quoted in the text were taken from the questionnaire. The couple did not request that their names be changed, however, pseudonyms have been used.

Johan's elder sister Sandra, aged 35 years, was interviewed in January 1994 after being approached by a mutual friend. Most of the history with regard to Johan's childhood is based on her views. The interview took place at Sandra's place of work and was approximately two hours in duration. Her perceptions about Johan and Belinda are also revealed in the text.

13.1 Family Background : Johan

Johan is the youngest of five children. He is described by Sandra as having "boyish good looks", with light-brown hair and blue eyes. He is tall and of medium build.

Johan was a late arrival in the family, his mother being 40 years old when he was born.

He has two older sisters and two older brothers. Because he was the baby of the family, he tended to be spoilt by his siblings who paid him a great deal of attention.

Johan's father was a prominent attorney who was actively involved in the community. He was a member of many local government committees and served a term of office as mayor of a small town in the Transvaal. The family could be described as wealthy and Johan's father owned many properties including a farm in the Eastern Transvaal. Johan's father is described by Sandra as :

> "... a very difficult, rigid man. He was very demanding of all of us children. A real patriach, although he was so involved in all of his work affairs and committees that we didn't see much of him ... My mother was the total opposite, she never worked, she was a true homemaker, always there for us ... very supportive, a soft, warm person but strong and wonderful."

The older three children excelled at school and were "model" children. The second youngest son, Andries was not academically inclined and did not get on very well with his father. This clash resulted in him leaving home after completing his matric. He moved to Johannesburg and became involved in promoting musicians. The eldest three children had also already left home and were completing their tertiary qualifications. Thus at the age of ten years old, Johan was the only child left in the house. Shortly after his eleventh birthday, his mother died after suffering from cancer for several months. This left Johan alone with his father who tended to neglect him.

Although the family lived in town, Johan and his father would go to the farm every week-end. These visits used to take place before his mother died and since his elder siblings

were studying, they often stayed in the town. Johan's friends were largely the farm workers' children with whom he socialised every week-end. Johan's father spoke fluent Zulu and Johan soon learnt to speak the anguage fluently himself. Johan's eldest sister Sandra reflects:

> "... he loved the black children, it was amazing, as soon as he arrived they would all suddenly appear and he would spend hours with them, talking and laughing ... he loved the black culture, the humour, the whole relaxed way of life ... and the idea of living off the land appealed to him. I think the blacks made him feel special, they spoilt him the way we used to. He seemed to crave that attention."

Johan never felt that he fitted in with the white culture. He had been very close to his mother and subsequently only felt that he had "belonged" during those week-ends on the farm. When Johan was 14 years old his father remarried a widow with two daughters. His step-mother had been his father's secretary in his private practice. After their marriage, Johan and his father moved into the house where his step-mother stayed with her two daughters. However, they did not sell their house but simply closed it up. The marriage was not successful, the relationship beginning to deteriorate after about a year. Johan did not have a good relationship with his step-mother either and so father and son moved back into their original house. His father and step-mother however, did not get divorced. A few months later when Johan was 16 years old and in Standard 9, his father committed suicide. An autopsy was performed and it was found that he had had cancer. The doctor estimated that he did not have more than approximately three months to live. Sandra recalls :

> "... it was very upsetting for us because my father was such a strong person. It was totally out of character for him to commit suicide. But I think he did it because he didn't want to be a burden to us. He knew how my mother had suffered, she was in terrible pain towards the end. Also, I think he wanted to spare Johan because he took my mother's death very badly. He went to visit her every single day after school. He used to catch the bus. He disobeyed my father who told him not to go every day because his school marks dropped during that period. But he wouldn't listen, he was devastated when she died."

After his father's death Johan remained in the family home, his step-mother and step-sisters moving into the home as well. Johan's step-mother sold her house since she had inherited her husband's house. This was not a happy time for Johan and once he had finished his matric he went to the army to complete his compulsory military service. However, he was exempt from combat training. Sandra reflects :

> "... the army was very bad for Johan, I think it made him even worse about confrontation, he always hated it, any type of conflict. He never argues with anyone so you can never resolve anything with Johan because he just avoids the issue completely. He will shrug it off and simply refuse to discuss the matter further. It is very frustrating ... this was his way of dealing with my father because it was easier to back down or keep quiet in an argument with him. My father was never wrong and he would never reason with a person, you just had to do his bidding ... so that was the background to Johan

> being so passive ... he managed to convince the psychologist in the army that he had a gun phobia of something ... and that he was depressed. He said that if he had a gun he might shoot himself like my father did , so in the end the army gave him an office job."

After completing his military service, Johan decided to move to Johannesburg and stay with his older brother, Andries. Johan had been visiting him on weekend passes from the army. Andries was as yet unmarried and welcomed the idea of having Johan living with him. Andries was involved in the music field and had a number of friends from all race groups. Johan was readily accepted into the circle of friends and enjoyed a good relationship with his brother. However, Andries then met a woman whom he became engaged to and the couple made plans to marry and buy a house together. Johan decided to move to Cape Town as he wanted to study towards a diploma at a tertiary institution.

After Johan's father's death all the children had inherited an equal share of the estate. Each child had been left a large sum of money as well as a share in various properties. He had also left the farm to be divided equally between the five children. At that stage, since Johan had only been 16 years old, his inheritance was placed in a trust fund until his 21st birthday. When Johan moved to Cape Town, he had just turned 21 years old.

13.2 Family Background : Belinda

Belinda is the middle child in a family of five children. She has two brothers and two sisters. Her father died when she was young and her mother raised the children on her own. The family originate from the Cape and until she met Johan, Belinda had never lived anywhere other than in Cape Town. She has a Standard 8 education.

Belinda and her mother were very close and still have a loving relationship, although Belinda does not see her that often anymore since moving to the Eastern Transvaal. Belinda's mother has always been very supportive of her and accepted her relationship with Johan from the beginning. She was very happy when Johan and Belinda decided to marry.

Belinda also had a close relationship with her brothers and sisters whom she still sees whenever she can. Details of their marital status are unknown. (See Figure 6, Genogram : Johan and Belinda).

13.3 Early Relationship

Johan moved to Cape Town, the same suburb where Belinda lived. He was renting a flat in an area which has a largely coloured population. Johan was studying full-time but abandoned his studies after a few months. Johan met Belinda through mutual friends. He had formed friendships with some of the people living in the neighbourhood. Belinda had recently been in a relationship with a man (Dave) with whom she had been living but the relationship had ended, leaving her with no place to stay. The couple had two children, a son and a daughter. Johan invited Belinda to stay with him, that being the beginning of their relationship.

Shortly after Belinda moved in she went to fetch her daughter, Vanessa, who had been staying with her father. An agreement was reached whereby Vanessa would stay with her mother, while the son would stay with his father. Belinda had registered both children with their father's surname. However, since both children were born out of wedlock their father had no legal rights over them. But at that stage the son expressed a desire to stay with his father while Vanessa was still too young (two years old) to be looked after by her father. Belinda has not seen her son nor his father since the agreement.

At that stage Johan had come into his inheritance and began spending money rapidly. Sandra revealed that Johan depleted his inheritance in a matter of one year.

> "... we (the family) don't know what he spent all his money on. I know he had a burglary and all his furniture was stolen and I think he just wasted the money ... gave it away to his so-called friends. Johan was never a materialistic person, money never meant much to him. Also, he couldn't find work and Belinda never had a job either, she had only been a housewife and mother. So he was supporting them as well. He spoilt them a lot in the beginning with clothes and presents ... Belinda isn't a materialistic person either although I think she liked the money while it lasted, she wasn't with him because of the money ... but his other friends were only there for what they could get out of Johan and when he was broke they wanted nothing more to do with him."

After living together for a year Johan and Belinda decided to get married. By this time Johan's money had almost run out and there was no money for a lavish wedding. No one in Johan's family was living in Cape Town so Johan telephoned everyone and informed them of his intention to marry Belinda. His brothers and sisters knew that Belinda was living with him but they were unaware that the relationship had become intimate. They were under the impression that Johan was simply helping a friend in need. None of the family had ever met Belinda.

13.4 Reactions of the Family : Johan

The family were very unhappy about Johan's marriage to Belinda. Since his siblings were much older than Johan and as a result of the death of their parents, his older brothers and

sisters felt a parental responsibility towards him. Sandra describes the family reactions towards the impending marriage :

> "We all declined the invitation to the wedding and we all tried to talk him out of it over the phone but he wouldn't listen to any of us. He said he loved her and that was what mattered ... So we discussed it amongst ourselved and it was really quite amazing how our traditional upbringing came out. We all felt that we were actually quite liberal and open but when it came to our brother marrying across the colour bar, it was just too much. Even Andries, that was the most amazing thing, because he had always been the liberal, rebel of the family, the drop-out or black sheep or whatever, I mean, he had all these friends that he mixed with and he had encouraged Johan when they stayed together and suddenly he turned into this conservative Afrikaans type who was totally against the whole thing ... We felt that he had the most influence over Johan so we asked him to go to Cape Town and try and talk him out of it and also to find out about this girl ... He told us that he tried everything but Johan was adamant. He told Johan that if my parents knew what he was about to do they would turn in their graves. Apparently he replied,

> 'Hulle kan maar spin!'[1] It was as if he was just clinging to this girl ... So they eventually got married, Andries was still in Cape Town and he was the only one who went to the wedding ... They got married in a magistrates court, she (Belinda) wore a yellow dress, nothing special. Andries bought some flowers for her so that she could have a bridal bouquet ... I think it was his way of trying to make peace with Johan."

The family got together after the wedding to discuss the whole issue, Sandra recalls :

> "... we tried to work out why he had married a coloured girl ... we felt that Johan had been emotionally damaged by his childhood experiences, that he had suffered in a way that the rest of us had not because we had been raised by my mother while Johan had been exposed to my father ... my father was always so critical that Johan developed a very low self-esteem, he never felt that he was good enough and he never felt that he belonged ... and I think when Belinda came along she needed him and he got this ready-made family ... I know that this is going to sound racist but I don't think Johan thought that he was good enough to get a white wife ... you know his whole life he never had any white friends that he could truly call his friends and he never had a serious white girlfriend ... Belinda was his only serious girlfriend."

1 "They will just have to spin!"

13.5 Profile : Belinda

Sandra comments on Belinda's personality :

> "When Andries phoned us, he told us that Belinda was this common type, really tarty ... an unmarried mother and all that, so we all were horrified that Johan could marry such a woman. She is five years older than him and we knew he was the kind of person who could be easily influenced so we thought that she was a scheming, manipulative type. None of us had met her, so we accepted what Andries was telling us but now that I have met her I can see that he was talking rubbish ... She is exceptionally beautiful, she looks like Amy Kleinhans[2] and she has got a stunning figure, tall and willowy, she is very sexy but she is not brash like Andries described her ... Actually she's very reserved and quiet, she likes to cook and keep house. She doesn't like going out and she is not materialistic. I don't really know her well but I wouldn't say she is manipulative. Johan obviously wanted to marry her, she seems to be quite a dependent type."

13.6 After the Marriage

After Johan and Belinda were married, their financial situation deteriorated. Belinda was looking after Vanessa and Johan tried unsuccessfully to find work. The inheritance that

2 Amy Kleinhans is a coloured woman who was chosen as Miss South Africa in 1992. She was the first non-white Miss South Africa in the history of the pageant.

Johan had received had been spent. The properties which had been left to the five children had all been sold shortly after their father had died. Proceeds from the sale of these properties had at the time been paid into Johan's trust fund. The only property which had not been sold was the farm in the Eastern Transvaal. However, all the stock had been sold and the land had been leased to a farmer who was grazing sheep and cattle on the land. The farmer and his family were staying on the property, occupying the main farm house. The land had been leased on the condition that the farmer continue to employ the farm workers who were also residing on the property.

Johan had always wanted to be a farmer so he decided to move back to the farm with his family. Sandra recounts :

> "... he (Johan) basically just went and squatted on the farm. He and Belinda moved into the foreman's house because that was empty and they just refused to move ... we had no warning, he arrived there one day and that was that. We all tried to explain to him that the land was being leased but he said that he owned one fifth of the farm and we could lease out the rest but he wanted to live on his share. Luckily the farmer didn't mind that they moved in ... We all got together after that and decided that since he wouldn't move and they had no money we had better help them out. So we have given the farmer notice that he will have to leave when his lease expires and then we thought we would take out a bond on half the property and use that money to buy stock and implements. Then we would lease that half of the property to cover the bond repayments and let Johan farm on the other half ... The farmer who has the lease at present is paying a very small amount ... he was a friend of my father's so we are doing him a bit of a favour."

Shortly after moving to the farm Belinda became pregnant and their son Gregory was born in 1993.

The couple have a small piece of land on which they grow vegetables. They live off the land and sell some of the surplus stock which brings in a monthly income of about R500,00.

13.7 Child Raising

Johan and Belinda both speak Afrikaans as their first language and are devoted Christians. They consider their children to be coloured and are raising them as such.

Gregory is still a baby but Vanessa plays with the farm workers children who are all black. She is already fluent in Siswati and Zulu but her first language is Afrikaans. Since there are no other mixed race couples living in the area, Vanessa's only friends are the farm workers' children. Johan describes Vanessa as :

> "... very talkative and playful. She communicates with all race groups and isn't scared to meet people of a different race. When my family comes to visit she chats easily to them."

On the issue of race Johan made the following comments :

> "Vanessa is coloured and that's how she sees herself, she is not unhappy about that but once we asked her if she wants a black husband, just for a joke and she responded no, she wants a husband that is white, like her father ... she considers me to be her father and I think of her as my daughter."

13.8 Race Relations

The couple do not socialise much, preferring to spend time with their family. Johan is still held in high regard by the white farming community who remember him from the days when he would come to the farm with his father. However, he does not socialise with his neighbours. The couple tend to spend time with the black workers and their families instead. Johan considers that :

> "... amongst white people there is still a long way to go to improve race relations in South Africa. Blacks are more tolerable towards other races ... they take you for what you are regardless of your race, whereas whites tend to see skin colour first ... we will teach our children that all people of all races are the same irrespective of colour ... Belinda feels that some people in different races tolerate each other while others don't ... she doesn't want to generalise about the issue ... the most important advice that I would give to other couples in the same position as us is that your own family are the most important people to consider and they must always come first."

13.9 Clinical Impressions, Discussion and Comments

The views as represented in this case study are based primarily on Sandra's perceptions and thus may not be an accurate reflection of the relationship between Johan and Belinda. However, important insights are gained in respect to the reactions of the extended family.

It seems that Johan's childhood experiences played an important role in his views about other races. Deprived of his mother's care and support from an early age, he was raised by a critical, distant father. The only warmth and friendship that he received was from the black farm workers' children. He did not see much of his siblings and he had a poor relationship with his step-mother. After his father's death he forged a closer bond with his brother, Andries. It would seem that Andries reinforced the ties that he already felt towards the non-white community. However, Andries clearly considered interracial friendship and marriage to be two separate issues and while condoning the former he was strongly opposed to the latter. Perhaps Andries' marriage had the effect of Johan once again feeling abandoned. He had lost his mother, his siblings and his father. The brother whom he had felt closest to was now starting a family of his own from which Johan was excluded. These factors may all have contributed to Johan's need to belong and to have a family of his own.

Johan chose to move to a coloured suburb in Cape Town perhaps indicating that by that stage he had begun to identify more strongly with the non-white racial groups. His subsequent move to the farm may signal his need to be alone with his family as well as a need to be closer to the farm workers who had always made him feel special.

The reactions of Johan's extended family indicate a strong opposition to interracial marriage. Perhaps their views would have been less adamant if Johan had not been their brother. There is also a discrepancy between Andries and Sandra's opinion of Belinda. It is likely that Andries' initial reaction may have been influenced by a stereotypical view and had less to do with his own impression. Sandra, who was expecting the worst was therefore pleasantly suprised when she got to know Belinda a little better.

Several issues can be identified from this case study :

* Positive exposure from an early age to other race groups may foster the propensity of individuals to intermarry.

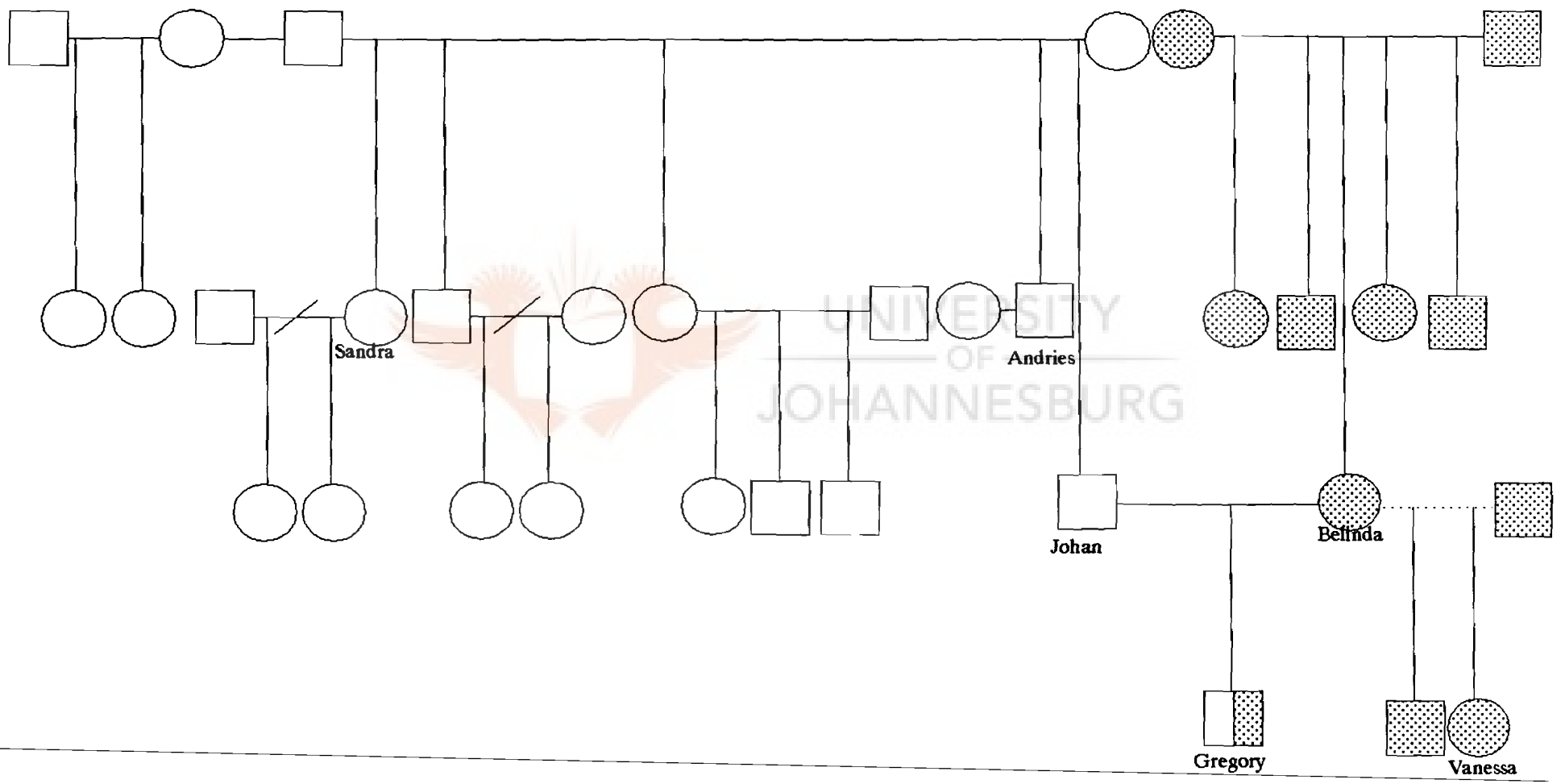
* Negative experiences in respect of one's own race group may lead an individual to identify more strongly with other race groups.

* Interracial friendships and marriage may be viewed as two distinct concepts with opposing reactions to each.

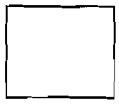
* Individuals may be neutral about interracial marriage as a concept but experience strong reactions when a member of their own family enters into a mixed marriage.

Figure 6

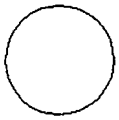
Genogram : Johan and Belinda



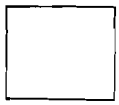
Key to Genogram : Johan and Belinda



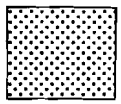
Male



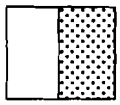
Female



White

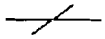


Coloured



Mixed Race - 1/2 Coloured / 1/2 White

A relationship



Divorced

CHAPTER 14

CASE NUMBER 7

THOMAS AND BELLA : A WHITE/BLACK INTERRACIAL MARRIAGE

Thomas, a 65 year old British born white male, married Bella, a 43 year old black Siswati-speaking woman born in Swaziland. The couple were married in Swaziland in 1977. They have two adopted daughters, both black, aged ten and six years old.

The couple were interviewed together during March 1994 in their home. The interview lasted about two hours. They volunteered to take part in the study after being approached by a mutual friend. Both Thomas and Bella were very open during the interview and answered all questions put to them as well as volunteering additional information. The couple had no objection to their first names and surname being used in the study as well as those of their children and families. However, all names have been changed for reasons of confidentiality.

14.1 Profile : Thomas

Thomas is a slender man of average height. He has grey hair and blue eyes. He speaks with a slight British accent. He has the equivalent of a Standard 9 education which he obtained in Britain. He is now retired, having worked as an artisan for his entire career. He has no technical training as such but many years of experience instead. His only language is English and he is an atheist.

Thomas presents as a frank and assertive individual who has strong views on a variety of matters. He communicates in a direct manner and speaks his mind.

14.2 Profile : Bella

Bella is shorter than average and is sturdily built. She has closely cropped curly hair and bright brown eyes in an open, lively face. Bella has the equivalent of a Standard 4 education which she obtained in Swaziland. She is a housewife and mother at present but used to work as a domestic servant in the past. Bella speaks fluent English although her first language is Siswati. She is a non-practising Christian and was never very strongly committed to any particular religion.

Bella is also forthright and assertive with firm beliefs. She does not defer to Thomas and the couple are not afraid to differ with each other, although during the interview it was clear that they agreed on the majority of issues.

14.3 Family Background : Thomas

Born and raised in London, Thomas is the older of two brothers. He confesses that he never enjoyed England, mainly due to the fact that his family never knew a good standard of living. It was always a struggle to make ends meet particularly during the Second World War.

Thomas met and married his first wife, Ruth in England. The couple moved to a small town and had three children, Peter, Nolene and Ricky. The marriage was not successful and Ruth began a relationship with another man. Thomas found out about this relationship and the couple decided not to divorce but rather to start afresh in a new place. Since Thomas had never felt happy in England they decided to move to South Africa in 1965, primarily because there would be no language barriers and also because it was a relatively easy country to emigrate to in terms of accessability. Thomas and Ruth settled in Johannesburg where he found work. The couple adapted easily to their new country but unfortunately they were unable to repair their marriage. Ruth met someone else and they decided to divorce. Peter was 16, Nolene was eight and Ricky was six years old at

the time. Thomas asked Ruth if he could have custody of the children, to which she did not object. However, Thomas found it too difficult to care for his three children in Johannesburg and decided to move to Swaziland where he had an attractive job offer. The move enabled him to see more of his children as he was living on a plantation in a house owned by the company.

There was also a primary school and secondary school for the children of employees which was very convenient. Ruth did not object to Thomas moving to Swaziland as she realised that this would be a more suitable arrangement for the children, who would have a better quality of life. Ruth remarried shortly after divorcing Thomas and has recently passed away.

While living in Swaziland, Thomas met Bella who was at that stage working as a domestic servant for the next door neighbour. Bella lived on the premises.

14.4 Family Background : Bella

Bella was born in Swaziland, the only child born to her parents who were not married. She does, however, have many half-brothers and sisters as her mother had a total of ten children altogether but from different relationships. Her father also had other children from several women but Bella is unsure of the number. Bella did not see much of her parents and was raised from an early age by an aunt and uncle on her mother's side. One of her younger half-sisters was also raised by this family and she is not sure of exactly who raised the other children. Bella was quick to add that her mother did not abandon her and that they still have contact today. Being raised by a member of the extended family is not unusual in the black culture. Her aunt and uncle had a total of eight children themselves. Her uncle was a renowned witchdoctor and Bella was raised according to strict traditional custom.

Bella recalls :

> "Even from an early age I tended to rebel against these traditions ... I remember an incident one day when my aunt was beaten because she had done something wrong and I thought to myself on that day that I would never get married because I never wanted to be treated like that. I decided to become a nun ... I didn't know what a nun was but I knew they didn't get married ... women are nothing to Swazi men ... it is very restricting, you have got no freedom ... you can't wear pants, you must just do what the men say".

Bella also rejected the "superstition" and customs associated with her uncle's profession. She recalls her uncle as being very strict. He would readily beat anyone who disobeyed him. She was also subjected to various rituals which made no sense to her at the time but which she could not refuse as she was a child. Bella singles out as particularly unpleasant the ritual of making small cuts on the child's arms and pouring "muti"[1] into the cuts to ward off evil spirits as well as to prevent illness. It is believed that without this ritual the child will die. This ritual is performed several times during the child's life which results in a number of small scars on the individual's arms. This was a source of considerable embarrassment to Bella :

> "... when I was in London with Thomas I had to undergo some operations and the Doctors were shocked when they saw all these scars on my arms because you can see that it is not

1 A word generally referring to traditional medicine.

> from an accident but that I have been cut. I felt such embarrassment, I didn't know how to explain it to them , you know it was so primitive ... it seemed hard to understand ... they had all this sophisticated medicine and stuff and I had to try and tell them about these cuts ... about evil spirits and superstition ... My uncle and aunt wanted to cut my children, I said never ... they said the children would die but that is rubbish, the children are fine and they haven't been cut even once."

Religion and education did not play an important role in Bella's upbringing and she left school after completing Standard 4. Schooling was not considered important so Bella stayed at home to help look after the house and the younger children. Whilst in her early twenties Bella went to work as a domestic servant. She had never been very interested in men and her aunt and uncle discouraged her from having relationships. She did date a few Swazi men but found them to be very dominating. She was not prepared to accept being subordinate to men which is what they expected of her. At one stage she briefly considered moving to South Africa because she had heard from one of her friends that the South African black men were not as traditional as the Swazi men. (See Figure 7, Genogram : Thomas and Bella)

14.5 Early Relationship

Thomas candidly admits that he was sexually attracted to Bella from the first but that since she wanted nothing to do with this "old man" he set about seducing her (The age gap between Bella and Thomas is 22 years).

Thomas tried to speak to Bella but she rejected his advances. Eventually she agreed to have dinner with him but was still unsure of whether she wanted to have a relationship with him. She discussed the matter with her friends who said : "That old man really likes you, maybe he will marry you".

Thomas insists that the thought of marriage never occurred to him, he simply wanted sex. They continued to see each other on this basis and then an incident occurred which resulted in Bella being fired from her job and expelled from the company's property.

Thomas had a domestic servant called Martha who found out that Bella was visiting Thomas and staying over in the evenings. Martha went and reported the relationship to Bella's employer who was herself interested in Thomas, Bella tells the story :

> "My 'Madam' fancied Thomas and he used to go and visit her ... (Thomas interrupts to mention that he only visisted her so that he could get to know Bella) ... she was jealous but she couldn't just fire me so there was this coloured painter who was doing some work there so they set a trap ... you were not allowed to have men in your room, it was against the company's rules so they gave this painter some money to say that he had been staying in my room with me ... so that she could get rid of me."

This was reported to the company and Bella was fired with immediate effect. She had to leave the property that same day and went to stay with a friend. This caused a rift with Thomas who initially believed the story and discovered that he was very jealous at the idea of Bella having a relationship with another man. However, the couple realised what had happened and Thomas then approached the company and explained the situation

to them. He declared his intention to marry Bella saying that he wanted her to come and live with him. The company approved but Bella refused to move in with Thomas unless he fired Martha first, which he proceeded to do. Thomas jokes : "Well I didn't need her anymore with Bella there". The couple lived together for three years before getting married in 1977.

14.6 Reactions of the Families

When Bella initially moved in with Thomas, Peter and Ricky had no objections but Nolene had some difficulties. She was not concerned with the fact that Bella was black, but rather that she was worried that Bella would take up all of Thomas' time and affection and that she would not get any attention. Once these fears had been allayed there were no further difficulties with Nolene. The children readily accepted Bella as their step-mother.

Later on when they got married it was Ricky who began to experience problems, mainly from his wife's side who did not like the fact that she had a black mother-in-law. Peter married a Zimbabwean woman who accepted Bella from the outset. Nolene married an Afrikaans-speaking South African man, Thomas comments :

> "Nolene and Ricky both married Afrikaans South Africans but Nolene's husband is very different to Ricky's wife. He seems to be quite liberal and open. I don't know if he is an unusual type of Afrikaner but it is obvious that he genuinely hasn't got any problems on the whole race thing ... whereas Ricky's wife says that she doesn't have a problem but you can see that she is not comfortable. She doesn't like the children to play together, things like that ... When Nolene and Ricky got

> married I told them that we wouldn't come to the wedding if it would make things easier, less awkward but Nolene insisted that I give her away ... Ricky also said that we must be at the wedding but there was some ... I don't know, just a feeling that some people didn't approve."

Bella was too nervous initially to tell her aunt and uncle that she was living with Thomas and that they were going to marry. She was concerned because she thought that they would not be happy with her having a sexual relationship with any man, let alone that he was white. She discussed the situation with her maternal grandmother with whom she was very close. Her grandmother supported her decision to marry Thomas and broached the subject with her son so that when Bella told her aunt and uncle of the marriage, they had been forewarned and were not unaccepting.

No-one in either Bella or Thomas' families had ever entered into a mixed marriage. Thomas' parents had passed away before he married Bella and he had not spoken to his brother for many years. As such Thomas did not inform him of his second marriage.

14.7 Marital Relationship

Thomas and Bella were married in the Magistrates Court in Swaziland. Thereafter a traditional Swazi ceremony was held. Thomas had to pay lobola which consisted of 12 cows which he gave to Bella's uncle. At this stage Peter had already moved out of the home and had settled in South Africa. The couple lived in Swaziland for two years and then decided to move to England because Thomas' employment contract had expired. They had considered moving to South Africa but mixed marriages were still prohibited in 1979. Thomas was very unhappy in England although Bella thrived there. Thomas had

always wanted to return to South Africa once the children were older and no longer needed so much attention. He remembers :

> "I hated it in England, I don't like the people, they are as gloomy as the weather. It's strange how you can feel homesick for your adopted country. In England I realised that I definitely wanted to move back to South Africa ... I even missed the South African accent, I used to go to the (South African) Embassy just so that I could hear the people speak ... We came back in 1981."

Bella, on the other hand, loved England and would move back there if she had the chance.

> "I thought the people were wonderful, they accepted me ... not only as a black person but as a woman. I felt that I was valued and I felt free."

Initially Thomas came back to South Africa on his own to find work before bringing Bella back to Swaziland. Thomas did not want to expose Bella to possible racism in South Africa, so once he had found stable employment Bella, Nolene and Ricky returned to SWaziland. Thomas used to commute whenever he could.

While in England, Bella had been trying unsuccessfully to fall pregnant. She underwent several operations but to no avail. Bella was very anxious to have children and eventually Thomas suggested that they approach the Swaziland authorities with a view to adopting children. They requested a coloured baby since "that would look more right" but there were only black babies available. They adopted Rosemary when she was ten months

old. Four years later they adopted Lorraine who was two months old at the time. Both children were born to Swazi parents in Swaziland. This created problems for the children since Thomas had British nationality with permanent residence in South Africa, while Bella also had British nationality by marriage. Initially the authorities did not want to register the children as Swazi citizens but eventually agreed that that would be the only choice. With the repeal of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act in 1985, Thomas officially registered their marriage and the family were re-united in South Africa. The couple had been expecting the announcement for some years before it became a reality.

14.8 Area of Residence

Since the Group Areas Act was still on the statute books, where to reside created a problem. They lived in a flat in Hillbrow initially but knew that they did not want to raise their daughters so close to the city. In addition, Thomas did not want to expose Bella to racism by moving to a white suburb but he also did not want to live in a black township. So a compromise was reached and they decided to buy a house in a coloured area. Due to the conditions set out in the Group Areas Act they first had to have a petition of approval signed by 12 residents in the street. They then had to apply for exemption from the Group Areas Board, which was granted. Although the Act has subsequently been abolished, Thomas and Bella have settled into the area and have no desire to move.

14.9 Child Raising

Since both children are black, racial identity per se, is not an issue. However, the couple are only partially agreed on how to raise their daughters. Bella feels strongly that the

children should be raised in a totally westernised way and due to this she had not taught them to speak Siswati.

They only speak English and are learning Afrikaans at school as their second language. Bella considers that she has made the correct decision :

> "I struggled with my English, it was very bad when I first met Thomas but I made it a goal to learn to speak English fluently and I want the same for Rosemary and Lorraine ... Also I don't think that the Swazi culture can offer them anything, it is not a good way of treating girls. I want them to get a good education."

Thomas is not in full agreement with Bella. He has concerns about their lack of knowledge concerning their culture of origin and is worried that they might not fit in. "They are being raised as whites but they are actually black". Sometimes blacks will speak to the children in a black language when they are out with Bella, based on the assumption that the children can understand the language, which they cannot. When Bella tells them that the children only speak English they are surprised and taken aback but Bella remains firm on the matter. In particular she does not want them to speak English with a "black accent, they must sound as if English is their first language." (During the interview both children came into the lounge to discuss matters with their parents and they both speak very good English with South African accents).

Rosemary is in Standard 2 and is ten years old while Lorraine is in Grade 1 and is six years old. The school has predominantely coloured children although there are some black children as well. They are achieving good marks and participate actively in extramural sports and activities.

Food is primarily westernised fare, although Bella says that this is the only thing she misses about her culture so every now and then she cooks a traditional meal which she sometimes craves. Religion is not a priority and the children do not attend church.

14.10 Socialising

Thomas and Bella do not know any other mixed couples although they are aware of a few such families in the area. They socialise mainly with their extended families and are on good terms with their neighbours although they do not socialise together.

The children's friends are largely their coloured school peers but they also play with their cousins and Thomas' grandchildren.
Bella considers that they have more in common with their white and coloured play-mates than with their black cousins. She comments: "They don't really know their games and of course they don't speak Siswati but they get on with each other just the same."

14.11 Racial Incidents and Views

Thomas considers that they have been exceptionally lucky as they have not been exposed to any serious racial incidents. Although there have been some subtle comments these have mainly come from strangers. Bella was accepted at Thomas' place of work and Thomas was suprised to find the South African authorities quite helpful and not at all disapproving.

Bella has also found that people have been friendly, particularly whites in England. In fact she comments that the black Jamaicans in England tended to be hostile when she mentioned that she had a white husband. She cites jealousy as the cause for this. But even in South Africa she has experienced people of all races to accept her and she

feels positive about the future. Bella would be quite happy for her daughters to enter into a mixed marriage but feels that it would have to be their choice. However, she is adamant that they should not marry Swazi men and would discourage any such relationship. Thomas, on the other hand, would not advocate a mixed marriage despite the fact that he feels that he and Bella have a successful marriage, while his first marriage to a white, British woman failed. He considers that there are too many difficulties in making a marriage work without the added complication of different race groups to contend with.

14.12 Peter's Experiences

Thomas' eldest son Peter was interviewed in March 1994 at his place of work. The interview lasted for approximately one hour. Peter, 38 years old, has blue eyes, a full beard and long dark hair which he ties back into a ponytail. He is shorter than average and stoutly built. Peter is a very relaxed, easy-going individual with a dry sense of humour. He speaks English with a slight British accent. Afrikaans is his second language. Peter, who articulates well, discussed his experiences in being part of an interracial family :

> "I was surprised when I heard that my father was going to marry Bella but not shocked, I thought why marry, why not just carry on living together ... I mean it wasn't traumatic or anything."

Peter was at that stage living in South Africa and it did not concern him much that his father, who was living in Swaziland, was going to be interracially married. However, since Bella and Thomas had been living together for some years, he had already been aware

of the relationship. But this was not the first black woman that Thomas had consorted with and Peter was upset when he initially discovered that Thomas was sexually involved with a black woman.

> "It was such a shock, I remember thinking wow, my dad and a maid, I was quite right wing, not much of a free thinker, a real product of NP[2] propaganda ... going to school in South Africa I was raised to be quite a racist, you know the "swart gevaar"[3] and the national flag fluttering in my heart ... it had a major impact on me, as it turns out, in many ways ... but I didn't say anything, I must have had a sense that this didn't have anything to do with me ... not my business."

Peter does not recall his father ever becoming involved in interracial relationships before moving to Swaziland and considers that availability was the issue rather than race. He notes that the majority of white women living on the plantation were married and since he considers his father to be a moral person, he would not want to cause the breakup of someone's marriage. Despite this, he nevertheless had physical needs and since the only available single women were black, they became the target of his attention. He does not believe his father was promiscuous and that he did not engage in many such encounters.

His father's relationships with black women and the move to Swaziland had a profound effect on Peter.

> "When I came here (South Africa) I was young and very amenable to social shaping but in Swaziland I began to cast off my nationalist leaning and I started seeing blacks as

2 National Party

3 An Afrikaans term meaning black danger which refers to a racial threat.

> people, before they were like a sub-species to me ... Swaziland has a very colonial flavour, a strong link with the British way of life ... then of course my dad organised for me to lose my virginity to a black woman ... a friend of Bella's, sort of like when your dad takes you to a brothel ... so it became an on-going thing after that ... every time I went up to Swaziland something would be arranged ... usually the same girl, until she gave me crabs[4]."

Peter explains that he lived a "double life" because in Swaziland he would have sexual encounters with black women but in South Africa he would be dating white women. Some of his closer friends were aware of the situation but he did not openly discuss the matter. Eventually he met and married his wife and then no longer continued with that lifestyle. In any event, shortly after his marriage his father moved to Johannesburg.

Commenting on his father and Bella, Peter considers them to be well suited. He desribes his father as a moody person but Bella appears not to mind. Bella is described as friendly but "she can become argumentative at times." Because of the age gap with his brother and sister Peter is not all that close to them and does not see them very often.

14.13 Clinical Impressions, Discussion and Comments

Thomas and Bella have been married for some 17 years during which time they have lived in Swaziland, England and South Africa. They have had to overcome many obstacles

4 Slang term for a form of venereal disease.

including an enforced separation, when Thomas was in South Africa while Bella remained in Swaziland, as well as the disappointment of not being able to have children.

From an early age Bella appears to have rejected the traditional Swazi culture. Although unaware of other options, she nevertheless realised that she did not want to play a subordinate role in a relationship. As such, Bella may have subconsciously been more willing to enter into a relationship with someone whom she perceived would have treated her as an equal.

On the other hand, Thomas, being raised in England did not have strong views concerning race. Living in Swaziland, the lack of available single, white women led him to approach black women. Initially his attraction for Bella was physical but over time their relationship deepened.

Thomas' children seem to have internalised the prevailing racial views, regarding black people as being inferior in status to whites. Hence Peter's initial reaction to Thomas' relationship with black women.

However, exposure to the black culture has led to a more positive impression of non-white population groups. Ricky's wife, does not share this view and is uncomfortable with the fact that she has a black mother-in-law.

Thomas and Bella's two children are being raised according to a westernised culture. This raises the question of whether they will identify with the black or white culture. Perhaps they will forge a new identity for themselves. It is unlikely that they will be fully accepted into the white culture given that there remains prejudice amongst certain individuals. But they will not be able to fully identify with the black culture either since they do not speak a black language and are unfamiliar with cultural customs and traditions. It

may be that in years to come, with the new government in place, this will no longer be of major importance.

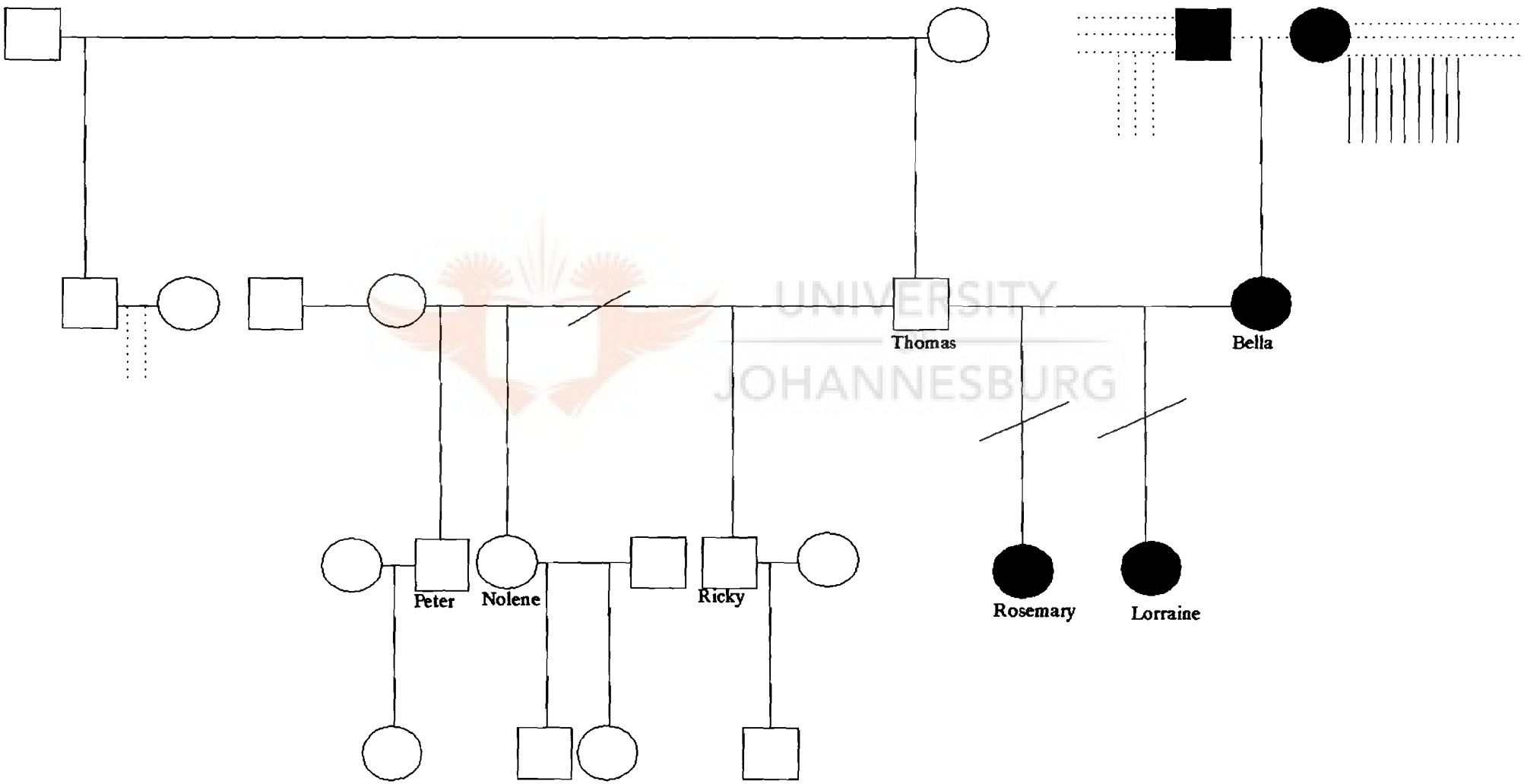
This case study raises several points :

* Lack of available same-race spouses may increase the likelihood of exogamous marriages.

* Individuals who reject their culture of origin may be more likely to enter into mixed marriages.

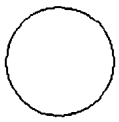
* Black children who are raised according to white westernised cultural norms may find that they are unable to fully identify with either group.

Figure 7
Genogram : Thomas and Bella



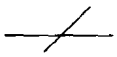
Key to Genogram : Thomas and Bella


Male

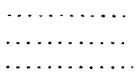

Female


White


Black


Divorced

A relationship


Indicates an unknown number of relationships


Children of unknown number and sex


Indicates adoption


Number of children of unknown sex

CHAPTER 15
RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH

15.1 Introduction

This chapter highlights the results obtained from the seven case studies as presented in chapters 8 to 14. The results are discussed in two sections, that is, a general and specific one. The general results section contains biographical and content aspects. The specific results section deals with the questions as posed in the chapter (p.105) on methodology.

An overlap between these two sections could not be avoided as a distinct differentiation between these two sections was not possible.

15.2 General Results

15.2.1 Nature of relationship

All the couples except one, Jack and Tina, were married. One couple, Ed and Ellen were divorced.

15.2.2 Biological children

All couples had biological children except Thomas and Bella who had two adopted daughters. Couples had from one to ten children.

15.2.3 Race

Each couple consisted of one white partner and one spouse of another race group. Of the seven couples there were five white male partners and two white females. The two white females, Ronelle and Minnie, were married to an Asian male and an Asian/ coloured mixed-race spouse respectively. Three of the white males had black partners while Johan and Ed were married to a coloured and a black/white mixed-race spouse respectively.

15.2.4 Nationality

Six of the 14 partners were not born in South Africa. Jack was born in Germany while Leon hailed from Belguim. Ed and Thomas were of British origin while Ellen and Bella were born in Swaziland. As such, four of the seven male partners were of a foreign nationality and two of the female spouses.

15.2.5 Religion

Most of the sample participants were Christians with the exception of Thomas who is an atheist and Mohammed and Ronelle who are of the Moslem faith. Couples differed in their commitment to religion. Three of the couples were non-practising Christians as well as Bella. Clive and Minnie were devout Catholics while Johan and Belinda are also deeply religious.

15.2.6 Education and occupation

Six of the 16 participants had a matric qualification, one had Standard 9 and three had Standard 8. Minnie obtained Standard 7, Clive, Standard 6 and Bella, Standard 4. Jack on the other hand, had a doctoral degree.

Five of the seven female partners were housewives. Ellen is now employed as a secretary but did not work when she was married. Tina works as a cleaner while Esther is employed as a switchboard/receptionist. Thomas and Leon worked in the technical field, Clive in administration and Mohammed in the family retail business. Johan is a farmer, Ed, a pilot and Jack, a university lecturer.

15.2.7 Language

Six of the seven couples spoke English as their home language. One couple, Johan and Belinda, were Afrikaans-speaking. The black respondents as well as Ellen spoke an African language as their first language but except for Tina, now speak English as their first language. Leon's first language is Dutch and his wife's first language is Zulu. The couple speak English at home.

Except for Johan and Belinda's children as well as Jack and Tina's daughter, all other children speak English as their first language.

15.3 Specific Results

The questions posed in the chapter on research methodology are repeated below for easy reference :

* What causes individuals to enter into a mixed-race marriage?

* How did the individual's family of origin react initially and how did their attitudes change over time?

* What adjustments did individuals have to make in order to be interracially married?

* What effect did children have on the marriage and how were they being raised?

* How did the issue of racial identity impact on each family member?

* How did the family cope with racial discrimination (if any) from the community?

* How did legislation and the political environment affect the family?

In order to address these questions, they were broadly categorised as follows :

* The causes for entering into an interracial relationship.

* Racial identity.

* Racial disrimination : Extended family, the community and as a result of legislation.

* Child rearing practices.

* Area of residence, socialising and adjustment.

15.3.1 Causes of interracial relationships

Couples generally cited mutual love and attraction is the primary cause for their relationship. Close proximity also played a key role in six of the seven couples, the exception being Jack and Tina who met by chance in a café. All other couples had the

opportunity to see each other on a regular basis. Lack of available same-race spouses seems to have been a contributary factor in the relationships between Ed and Ellen as well as that of Thomas and Bella.

15.3.2 Racial identity

All couples, with the exception of Ellen were able to identify with a particular race group. Ellen who was of mixed black/white origin rejected the idea of herself as belonging to the coloured race group and preferred to identify herself as being of mixed origin. Clive who was of mixed Asian/coloured origin identified himself as coloured. Minnie a white woman who was reclassified as coloured after marrying Clive had begun to identify herself as coloured prior to the reclassification.

However, the racial identity of the children proved to be a difficult and confusing issue for some families. Mohammed and Ronelle considered their children to be of mixed origin but more Asian than white. They preferred to identify themselves and their children according to their religion, Moslem, rather than race. Jack and Tina identified their daughter as black/white mixed-race rather than coloured. Clive and Minnie identified their children as coloured although they were only one quarter coloured. The children were in fact half-white, quarter-coloured and quarter-Asian. Leon and Esther a black/white couple were in disagreement on the racial identity of their son. Esther considered him to be coloured while Leon preferred to think of him as mixed-race but to consider his identity in national terms, that is, South African. Ed and Ellen considered their sons to be of mixed origin but more white. Their identity was also vested in their country of birth, England, rather than race. Johan and Belinda, a white/coloured couple had no difficulty in identifying their son as coloured. Thomas and Bella's two adopted daughters are black and as such racial identity was never an issue.

15.3.3 Racial discrimination

All couples experienced some form of racial prejudice and discrimination. The source of discrimination could have been from members of the extended family, the community or as a result of legislation. In particular, couples who had been married the longest were more likely to have been affected by legislation.

Discrimination from the extended family varied from a mild feeling of unease when in the presence of certain family members (Thomas and Bella), to active attempts to discourage the marriage (Johan and Belinda). In the case of Clive and Minnie, a rift was caused in the family resulting in little or no contact with certain family members who were strongly opposed to the marriage. The strongest disapproval appears to have been from white South African families. Leon's Dutch family welcomed his marriage to Esther. However, in most cases the strong initial reaction was generally tempered with time and in some cases reversed (Mohammed and Ronelle). There was opposition to the mixed relationships by the non-white families as well but not to the same extent as with white families.

Discrimination from the community ranged from curious stares to disapproving and insulting comments. In Leon's case, discrimination almost cost him his career. Again the strongest discrimination came from the white community. Sometimes reactions led to violence as in the case of the incident where Clive was physically assaulted by a group of white men. In general, the non-white races seem to have been more accepting but both Ellen and Bella commented on signs of prejudice from non-white groups which they ascribed to jealousy.

Discriminatory legislation affected the majority of couples in many ways, particularly those couples who had been married the longest. Couples had to delay their marriage plans until after the repeal of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act. The problem of a residential area affected couples, especially Clive and Minnie who were subjects of a forced removal in terms of the Group Areas Act. Other couples had to carefully choose

an area of residence based on the legislation as well as the possible reactions of the community. Another effect of legislation was the problem of police harrassment in the case of Clive and Minnie. In contrast though, Thomas and Bella reported that they found authorities to be helpful and supportive.

15.3.4 Child rearing practices

Most families have reached some form of compromise with respect to the cultural aspects of child rearing. Notable exceptions include Clive and Minnie who raised their children as coloured. Similarly Johan and Belinda are raising their children as coloured as well. Other couples seem to have opted for a westernised lifestyle to a greater or lesser extent. Jack and Tina may be seen as the couple least influenced by westernisation while Thomas and Bella are raising their daughters strictly according to white cultural norms. Similarly Ed and Ellen raised their two sons as white to the extent that very few people were aware of their mixed racial heritage.

Certain families tended to emphasise aspects other than race when it came to the question of identity. For Mohammed and Ronelle, religion is the most important source of identity. Leon has sought to instill nationality as important, as have Ed and Ellen.

15.3.5 Area of residence, socialising and adjustment

The issue with respect to area of residence has already been mentioned, although further elaboration of the subject bears highlighting. None of the families, again with the exception of Ed and Ellen, live in a (previously) white residential area. Mohammed and Ronelle reside in a predominantly Asian suburb. Two of the couples lived in suburbs consisting primarily of coloured people. Leon and Esther live in a so-called "grey" area which is an area designated as open to all race groups prior to the abolition of the Group Areas Act.

With regard to socialising evidence of race mixing, that is, associating with couples and children of other race groups was apparent with all families. One notable exception is that of Ed and Ellen whose two sons associated almost exclusively with white children during their school-going years. Ed and Ellen also socialised primarily with white couples. Although they did see Ellen's family of origin from time to time, they lived in Swaziland while Ed and Ellen lived in South Africa. Ellen's youngest son has a coloured wife and Ellen herself has a relationship with a coloured man.

All other families in the study socialised with mainly non-white race groups. Associations with whites appear to be limited to the extended family. None of the children had close friends from the white race group other than family members.

Three of the couples did not socialise much with friends, restricting contact to family members. None of the families had friends of mixed-race (other than family) nor socialised with other interracial couples. They were however sometimes aware of other such couples living in the area.

All in all, although couples seem to adjust fairly well to each other and as a family, it seems as if couples do not adjust well in all communities. The social environment tends to shift away from the white population group into the non-white community.

15.4 Conclusion

Notwithstanding individual differences these results expose several trends. In particular, issues surrounding racial identity as well as racial discrimination have touched the lives of all the families in the study to some extent. More recently, married couples have been less exposed to prejudice than those who have been together. Although all race groups have displayed evidence of discrimination, the white population remains the most strongly opposed to interracial relationships.

Chapter 16 intergrates these results with other aspects of the research.

CHAPTER 16
DISCUSSION OF RESULTS AND CONCLUSION

16.1 Introduction

Marriage and the family to a large extent still form the basis of society. The many manifestations of the institution have been a topic of research for several years. However, the subject of interracial marriage is of particular relevance in South Africa. Historically legislation has sought to keep the races separate, especially the white population group. Although many nations have at some stage in their history had racially based politics and laws, South Africa remains unique in its attempts to pursue its policies long after they had been abandoned by other countries. Nevertheless, the National Party of South Africa, under the guidance of President F.W. de Klerk entered into negotiations with several other political parties which set in motion the country's first all-race elections in April 1994. This resulted in a victory for the African National Congress, whose leader Nelson Mandela became the first black president of South Africa, which ended the long reign of white minority rule.

It is against this historical backdrop that this study took place. The seven respondent mixed-race families are all living in South Africa. All families had one parent from the white population group.

Until 1985 interracial marriages were illegal between members of the white and non-white race groups. However, other interracial marriages were permitted.

The concluding chapter seeks to integrate information in the preceding chapters with the results obtained from the sample. Specifically, links between previous research on mixed-race marriage and interracial children will be highlighted. In addition, the relevance of theories regarding prejudice, discrimination and interpersonal attraction in relation to

the sample will be discussed. Furthermore, the incidence and durability of mixed marriages will be linked to the South African statistics.

16.2 Theories : Prejudice and Discrimination

Theories on prejudice and discrimination seek to understand the basis for these phenomena: Racial prejudice is of particular relevance and all seven respondent families had experienced various forms of discrimination.

The realistic conflict theory (White, 1977) proposes that prejudice arises when two or more groups compete for scarce resources. This may be evidenced on a political level in South Africa where the white population has traditionally been advantaged. Government spending has favoured the white race in several spheres including education, housing, medical resources, the provision of an infrastructure et cetera. Competition for power has undoubtedly led to an increase in prejudice. These effects were experienced by the sample in the form of discriminatory legislation through to racially derogatory comments from the community.

The theory that people divide their world into distinct groups by a process of categorisation (Schaller & Maas, 1989) can also be seen in South Africa. The white population group has generally been regarded as having a higher status than the non-white groups. There is also evidence that the non-white populations have been seen as relatively homogeneous and possessing undesirable traits. Omar (1989) highlights this point when he discusses the Group Areas Act. He claims that the legislation sought to segregate individuals on the basis of colour and not culture, the implication being that as long as you were non-white you could live in any area for non-whites regardless of whether that area had been designated for blacks, coloureds or Asians. This is evidenced

by the removal of Clive and Minnie, who were registered as coloureds, to a largely black area. Similarly, Thomas and Bella, a black/white interracial couple, chose to live in a coloured area for fear of rejection which they thought they might experience in a white area.

Another theory suggests that racial prejudice develops through a process of socio-cultural learning (Byrne, 1991). The child acquires these attitudes via their parents, friends, teachers, the mass media and other sources. Thomas' eldest son Peter, though born in Britain, was raised primarily in South Africa. Despite the fact that his father was not racially prejudiced, Peter openly admits that he was influenced by the prevailing societal norms which viewed black people as inferior. It was only through increased exposure to the black race group, via Thomas and Bella, that he overcame his prejudice.

A fourth source of prejudice stems from the propensity of individuals to form stereotypes. People then proceed to place others into convenient categories based on these stereotypes. It is possible that this is what occurred when Andries, Johan's brother, first met Belinda. She was an unmarried mother of two, as well as being coloured. Andries described her in rather derogatory terms. Sandra, Johan's sister later claimed that these views were inaccurate. Andries was probably viewing Sandra according to a stereotype.

16.3 Theories : Interpersonal Attraction

Several factors play a role in the development of interpersonal attraction. One of the best indicators of whether two people will become friends or develop an intimate relationship is proximity. This is certainly evident in many of the sample couples. Mohammed and Ronelle socialised in the same peer group before developing a relationship. Clive and Minnie lived in the same neighbourhood, Clive being a friend of Minnie's older brother.

Leon and Esther saw each other on a daily basis before forming a relationship. Esther worked as a receptionist/switchboard operator for the hotel in which Leon was staying. Ed and Ellen met through mutual friends. Both were foreigners in Malaya at the time. Johan and Belinda were living in the same neighbourhood and were also introduced through mutual friends. Thomas and Bella were next door neighbours, Bella working as a domestic servant and living on the premises at the time. In other words, the above-mentioned couples were bound to come into contact with one another from time to time. Perhaps the only couple for which proximity was a tenuous factor is that of Jack and Tina. Their chance meeting in a café would probably not have resulted in a relationship had Jack not actively pursued Tina from that very first contact.

The issue of proximity can also be linked to the Group Areas Act. It is possible that the psychological intention of this Act was not only to prevent the different race groups from mixing but also to ward off any possibility of interpersonal attraction which may occur due to proximity. Even prior to the Act, South African author, Findlay (undated, circa 1930's) warns against integration which could lead to miscegenation. He advocated the complete separation of the races. Yet, because of a certain integrated work environment this factor could not be completely ruled out, as seen in some of the cases.

Research indicates that an individual's emotional state is important, with positive feelings increasing the likelihood of attraction (Byrne, 1991). This aspect was not explored in the study, though one could argue that as interpersonal attraction also includes an emotional component it would seem that, like proximity, a positive affect influenced most of the couples in establishing a long term relationship.

Several studies have noted the importance of physical attractiveness for interpersonal attraction. The expectancy-value theory postulates that individuals will try to maximise the

attractiveness of a potential partner while minimising the possibility of rejection (Freeman et al., 1981). Some of the couples in the study seem to be similar in their level of attractiveness, specifically Mohammed and Ronelle, Leon and Esther, Ed and Ellen as well as Johan and Belinda. Note however, that this evaluation is subjective and in some cases based on photographs.

Equity theory argues that mismatches in physical attractiveness do occur but in those cases the less attractive spouse tends to compensate for this by being of a higher status, wealthier, famous, powerful and so forth. One might speculate that since the white race group in South Africa was accorded a higher status than non-whites, this theory would hold true for interracial couples. This appears to have been the case with Jack and Tina. Jack's increased status as a white person, together with his higher education and financial means may have allowed him to take advantage of Tina's youth and inexperience. To a certain extent, the relationship between Thomas and Bella may also be based on equity theory. Thomas is some 22 years older than Bella. He was also divorced with three children that he was supporting. However, he was better educated than Bella and financially more independent. The racial issue was probably also a factor although possibly not as important, should the couple have been living in South Africa instead of Swaziland. Thomas himself openly admitted that he was sexually attracted to Bella and that he found her very physically attractive.

No comment can be made regarding the effect of physical attraction in the case of Clive and Minnie, since Clive was deceased at the time of Minnie's interview. However, it is speculated that the equity theory would not have played a role in this relationship, given that Clive and Minnie were of a similar age, educational level and social background.

A further factor rated as important in interpersonal attraction is that of similarity with respect to demographic characteristics, attitudes and values. Mohammed and Ronelle

would not have married had Ronelle not been willing to commit herself to the Moslem religion. However, Mohammed had already expressed an interest in white women, preferring westernised values and attitudes to those held by more traditional Moslem women. Clive and Minnie had similar socio-economic backgrounds and Minnie became a devout Roman-Catholic at Clive's encouragement. Ed and Ellen's similarity stems from the fact that they were both foreigners away from their country of origin. Johan and Belinda share the same first language, are deeply religious and both had the desire to be part of a family. Bella's rejection of her culture of origin and her desire to live a westernised lifestyle fitted with Thomas' values and attitudes. Similarities between Leon and Esther as well as Jack and Tina are not immediately apparent. Their relationships may have been based on other factors as previously discussed.

16.4 Previous Research : Mixed-Race Marriage

Literature and research on the subject of mixed-race marriage has focussed on areas such as spouse selection preferences, perceived causes for interracial relationships and adjustment patterns. The consequences of mixed marriage as well as the attitudes of the extended family and larger community have also been investigated. Despite the fact that the literature reviewed has largely been American, certain links with the South African sample can be illuminated.

16.4.1 Who marries out?

Attempts have been made to try to identify a profile of an individual more likely to marry out. Factors such as age, education, employment, previous marital status as well as racial group amongst others have been researched. No clear finding were forthcoming; studies tended to be contradictory.

The small sample of the present study makes generality difficult. The individuals who took part were diverse in terms of age and education. However, a large percentage of the sample (six out of 14) were born in foreign countries, when one considers that the study took place in South Africa. Tentative conclusions drawn suggest that foreigners may be more inclined to marry out particularly when not in their country of origin. Alternatively, such individuals may simply have been more willing to be interviewed for the study. Baker Cottrell (1990) identified an increased incidence of mixed marriages amongst individuals living in foreign countries.

16.4.2 Spouse selection

On the subject of spouse selection an extensive international study undertaken by Buss et al. (1990) found that mutual love and attraction was cited as the most prevailing cause for marriage. Certainly all of the couples in the study would atest to this being the reason for their relationships. However, Cerroni-Long (1984) presented a typology of efficient causes for intermarriage to occur, which tries to explain why individuals might break the norm of endogamy and fall in love across racial boundaries in the first instance.

For various reasons an individual may not experience the norm of endogamy as binding, such as when personal interpretation of the norm takes place. An individual may pay attention to agathogamy but not to homogamy. This is evidenced in Mohammed and Ronelle's relationship where religious homogamy seems more important than racial exogamy: Also in the case of Clive and Minnie, both being committed to the same religion. Alternatively, exceptional circumstances, such as temporary residence abroad, emigration or war might lesson the norm of endogamy. This was probably a factor in Ed and Ellen's marriage.

It is unlikely that there were a large number of British females or Swazi males in Malaya at the time when Ed and Ellen met. Similarly, South Africa does not have many Belgium emigrants, hence Leon's relationship with Esther. In the same vein, Thomas and Bella's union was initiated in part due to the fact that there were few single white women, let alone British women, living on the plantation in Swaziland where Thomas worked.

A breaking of ties with one's original group of affiliation can also lead to an individual not experiencing the norm of endogamy as binding. Johan's childhood experiences fostered an attraction for the non-white racial groups and a rejection of the white culture. This probably influenced his decision to marry Belinda. Bella had rebelled against her traditional upbringing, shunning the Swazi culture,which resulted in her willingness to espouse a westernised lifestyle with Thomas.

Cerroni-Long (1984) maintains that individuals may break the norm of endogamy in order to gain specific rewards which could be socio-cultural, economic or psychological. This may have played a role in the relationship of Jack and Tina, where Jack obtained sexual rewards and Tina socio-cultural and economic rewards.

The third reason to break the norm of endogamy according to Cerroni-Long is personal deviance. An individual may have a desire to fulfil personal expectations or to confirm a specific self-image. The author also lists a number of "mental problems" which include feelings of inadequacy, rebellion towards authority figures, alienation from one's own group and guilt towards members of the subordinate group. Again, Johan falls into this category. His sister Sandra mentioned that he had a low self-esteem which is likely to have led to feelings of inadequacy. Furthermore, rebellion towards authority figures seems to have occurred as evidenced by his poor relationship with his father. He certainly felt alienated from the white race group and may have experienced guilt feelings concerning the plight of the non-white community.

Cerroni-Long makes the point that when several of the above-mentioned factors are present, the greater the likelihood that the individual will break the norm of endogamy. Supportive evidence for the theories of Cerroni-Long have been found by other researchers.

16.4.3 Adjustment

In order to maintain a successful relationship certain adjustment patterns need to be implemented by the couple. Cerroni-Long (1984) theorised that specific stress factors could have a special effect on interracial couples. Stress factors could be personal, either, deriving from personal problems or communication between the spouses. Under this category the researcher lists cultural differences, such as difficulty in interaction, and a feeling of isolation amongst others. Surprisingly, couples in the study did not complain of many difficulties adjusting to each other's separate cultural backgrounds. An exception may be the case of Leon and Esther who experienced problems when Esther's daughter Purity came to live with the couple. Leon felt that Esther was doing too much for Purity. In addition, Purity became pregnant, giving birth to an illegitimate daughter who is now being raised by Leon and Esther. This led to Leon's drinking problem but the couple were eventually able to solve their difficulties and reach a compromise. Ed an Ellen's divorce seems to have resulted from incompatibility which may have had to do with unrealistic expectations on Ellen's part. Ellen has an image of the white population as being "refined" and "dignified", yet she complained that Ed was "coarse" and "uncouth".

Cerroni-Long also identifies a number of external stressors which result from society's hostility or familial disapproval to name two. These will be dealt with later on.

Rohrlich (1988) has focussed on the adjustment patterns that individuals who form part of a mixed marriage must make. Five patterns are outlined, the first being "one-way adjustment", that is, where one partner espouses the cultural values of the other. Most of the couples in the study have chosen this course of action. Clive and Minnie identified with Clive's background and followed the coloured lifestyle ; except that the family spoke English instead of Afrikaans as their home language. However, this decision had been taken by Clive's parents and not by the couple themselves. Ed and Ellen lived according to white cultural norms although Ellen did keep in contact with her family of origin to a limited extent. Johan and Belinda also espoused a coloured lifestyle while Thomas and Bella decided to pursue westernised norms and values.

"Alternative adjustment" implies that partners choose between two sets of cultural lifestyles. This is probably what Jack and Tina have subconsciously chosen. Their daughter Jessica is being raised by Tina's grandmother but Jack exposes her to white norms when he visits on a monthly basis.

"Mixing adjustment" incorporates aspects of both cultures. Mohammed and Ronelle are following a westernised lifestyle while maintaining a strong commitment to the Moslem religion.

"Mid-point compromise" is a solution by mutual agreement between the respective cultures. No clear example of this pattern emerged from the sample.

"Creative adjustment" is a new behaviour pattern which is chosen to replace the culture of each spouse. Perhaps Leon and Esther fall into this category and are trying to find a cultural solution which is largely South African rather than Dutch or Zulu.

16.4.4 Societal attitude towards mixed marriage

Despite a marked change in public attitude towards mixed marriage in America over the last 20 years, a small percentage of the population are still against the concept (Simpson & Yinger, 1985; Sones & Holston, 1988).

Most of the respondents in the study experienced negative incidents as a result of racial prejudice. These ranged in severity from insulting comments to physical abuse. Clive was assaulted by a group of white men at Westdene dam. Leon nearly lost his job because he was married to a black woman. On the other hand, Thomas and Bella remarked on the helpful and supportive attitude they had encountered when dealing with the South African authorities.

16.4.5 Attitude of the extended family

American and British research (Simpson & Yinger, 1985; Benson, 1981) found that white extended families reacted less favourably than their black counterparts towards mixed marriage. This finding was echoed in the present study. In particular, white South African families tended to be the more negative. Ronelle's parents attempted to stop her relationship with Mohammed when they discovered that he was Asian. They were previously under the impression that he was Lebonese and had no objections at that stage. It could be argued that her parents were against the relationship because legislation prohibited interracial sexual relations as well as marriage. Over time however, they changed their initial stance and welcomed Mohammed as their son-in-law. The strong reaction of Johan's family against his marriage to Belinda could not have been as a result of prevailing legislation since the Act had already been repealed. All members of the family were negative and attempted to prohibit the marriage. Now that the couple

are married their seems to be more acceptance and the family are planning to assist Johan financially. The marriage of Clive and Minnie resulted in a rift in Minnie's family which was never healed. Leon's Dutch family, on the other hand, accepted his marriage to Esther from the outset.

Negative reactions were also experienced from non-white extended families. Mohammed's parents were not fully accepting of his relationship with Ronelle at first. Clive's father was against his relationship with Minnie. In general though, these reactions tended not to be as severe as those of white families.

16.5 Identity Development : Mixed-Race Children

Earlier studies on identity development in mixed-race children tended to concentrate on the theories of Park (1937) and Stonequist (1937). These theories propose that a mixed-race individual will be marginal in two cultures and further postulate that the development of certain personality traits are likely. Later studies (Motoyoshi, 1990; Sebring, 1985; Shackford, 1984; Poston, 1990; Wardle, 1988) have refuted the marginal man perspective and concluded that interracial children are not necessarily more likely to develop identity difficulties based on their biracial heritage. Identity development of the children in this study was investigated from the point of view of the parents.

One of the central themes which emerged is that an individual's identity can be vested in aspects more important than race, for instance religion or nationality. This seems to be particularly so for the mixed-race person. Mohammed and Ronelle have chosen to define their children in terms of religion rather than race. Even Ronelle describes herself as Moslem instead of white. Ellen, who is of mixed origin, prefers to identify herself as Swazi, thereby emphasising her nationality. Leon similarly defines his son as South African. There appears to be a move away from black/white mixed-race individuals identifying

themselves as coloured This implies that the coloured population of South Africa has a separate identity based on more than simply their mixed heritage as Brown (1990) has suggested.

Ed and Ellen's two sons espouse a white racial identity to a large extent but have also emphasised their nationality which is British. However, Ellen's youngest son has married a "coloured" wife of British origin. Ellen described her daugther-in-law as coloured although she was born in Britain and is therefore likely to be of mixed origin herself.

Jack and Tina's daughter identifies herself as being of mixed origin, again resisting the coloured label. However, Clive and Minnie as well as Johan and Belinda's children have strongly espoused the coloured identity. Notably one parent of each couple defines themselves as coloured. In the past this was enough to classify the individual as coloured, which is the case with Clive and Minnie's children. Despite the repeal of the Population Registration Act, Johan and Belinda regard their son as coloured indicating a cultural rather than purely racial identity. It may be significant that both Minnie and Johan, though white, have strongly identified with the non-white population groups themselves.

Thomas and Bella's two adopted daughters will probably not experience racial identity problems since they are both black. But it is speculated that cultural identity may become an issue unless they are able to carve an identity based on nationality or some other factor. Both children were born in Swaziland but are being raised in South Africa according to westernised values. Neither can speak a black language. They have also not been taught or exposed to the Swazi culture to any significant extent. However, with the change in government, bringing an emphasis on unity, race may cease to hold the importance it once had.

All children in the study were described by their parents as having a healthy self-esteem. Racial identity problems were not mentioned. This confirms later theories on the subject although a direct assessment was not the object of the research. Conclusions in this regard are therefore tentative.

16.6 Divorce

Previous research on the incidence of divorce amongst mixed marriage has produced conflicting results. However, more studies have found support for the prevailing view that mixed marriages are less stable and more divorce prone than homogeneous unions (Bisman, 1987; Weller & Rofé, 1988; Paris & Guzder, 1989; Ibrahim & Schroeder, 1990). These studies largely reflect the American situation.

Incidence of mixed-race divorce in South Africa has provided evidence which contradicts the findings of previous research. Using figures provided by the Central Statistical Service from 1987 to 1991, the statistics reveal the divorce rates of mixed-race couples to be considerably lower than for that of other race groups. Divorce figures for white homogeneous unions were the highest, followed by coloureds and Asians. Statistics for the black population group were not given.

Five of the seven couples in the study have remained together. Clive and Minnie were married for 44 years before Clive passed away. Thomas and Bella have been married for 18 years. The remaining three couples have been married between two and ten years. Jack and Tina never married; their relationship lasted five years. However, their union is not considered to be typical of a mixed marriage. Ed and Ellen's marriage endured for some 30 years before ending in divorce. Thomas, the only respondent who had previously been divorced, had been married to a white wife.

The sample thus reflects one white homogeneous divorce and one mixed-race divorce.

16.7 Conclusions

The aim of this study was to investigate the experiences of interracial families living in South Africa. Several questions, as posed in chapter 7 on research methodology were raised. These issues included the causes of mixed marriages, the adjustment patterns, child raising practices, racial identity, reactions of the extended family as well as the community and, the effect of legislation and the political environment.

Although only seven couples and their families were investigated and regardless of the qualitative nature of the research, these questions can be addressed since valuable tendencies emerged from this study. To sum up, these will be discussed separately.

16.7.1 Causes of interracial relationships

The primary causes as identified by the study for the occurrence of interracial relationships are proximity and mutual love. Lack of available homogeneous partners was also a contributing factor. Rejection of one's endogamous cultural group was a cause in two cases.

16.7.2 Adjustment patterns

In general couples reported positively about their relationship. External stressors, that is, the extended family, the community and the legal and political environment were seen as the main difficulties.

16.7.3 Child raising practices

Most parents had introduced elements of the westernised culture into their child rearing. Couples tended to choose a particular culture as the main focus although there were instances where a compromise between the two cultures was adopted.

16.7.4 Racial identity

Race was not always the most important consideration in the identity formation of mixed-race individuals. Religion and nationality were also regarded as significant. Certain respondents preferred to view themselves as mixed-race. However, in some cases individuals chose to emphasise a particular race rather than to espouse a biracial identity.

16.7.5 The extended family

In general, South African white families tended to react negatively to interracial marriage, particularly at first. Although there was evidence of this occurring in non-white families as well, the responses were not as adamant.

All families experienced prejudice and discrimination from the community, the white population groups being the major proponents thereof. Families tended to socialise with non-white population groups to a larger extent than with the white community.

16.7.6 Legislation and the political environment

Most families were effected by legislation and the political environment to some extent. In particular the Group Areas Act caused difficulties in terms of area of residence. The

Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act resulted in couples marrying in other countries in some instances.

16.8 Limitations of the Study

The leading limitations of the study are related to the research methodology and sample families. Qualitative research, being exploratory in nature, does not always offer the opportunity for replication. Another limitation is the perceived lack of generality (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). However, the intention of qualitative research is to search for meaning rather than to provide quantitative statistics.

Another limitation relates to sampling methods employed. Respondent families were self-selected and tended to present a "postive" picture. This unavoidable bias is likely to have led to an overly optimistic impression. However, this may simply indicate one aspect of mixed-race families with negative effects being minimised, rather than negating the findings. Linked to this is the method of data collection. Subjects were in the main asked to respond verbally and may not have wished to discuss what they perceived as unacceptable viewpoints. Parents may have tried to portray their children in a favourable light, perhaps in an attempt to counteract stereotypes.

Researcher bias may have unconsciously played a role, the orientation being that of a female white, English-speaking, South African. Mouton & Marais (1988) caution against providing positive feedback during interviewing which would taint the information obtained. Despite attempts in this direction, researcher effects cannot be ruled out. Finally, although the interview questions were kept as broad as possible, participant's responses may have been restricted to some extent.

16.9 Directions for Future Research

One of the primary goals of an exploratory study is to identify directions for future research (Kerwin et al., 1993). This is expecially so in the South African context where so few studies on this subject have been undertaken.

The issues raised in the concluding comments of each case study serve as a basis for investigation. Recurring and primary themes are discussed below :

* Identity development of mixed-race individuals in South Africa may lose its racial emphasis and become vested in other factors such as nationality, religion or culture.

* Once a family member breaks the norm of endogamy by marrying out this may pave the way for other family members as well as future generations to do so.

* The norm of endogamy may not be perceived to have been broken in interracial marriage where religious or other forms of endogamy have been preserved.

* Racial integration and positive affiliation may lead to an increase in interracial marriage. In addition, such individuals who intermarry may come to identify more closely with other race groups than their own.

* Reactions of the extended family, specifically those of white South Africans may undergo changes with the abolition of racial legislation and the changing political environment.

However, certain sections of the community remain strongly opposed to interracial marriage. Reasons for this can be explored since it is likely that families react differently to the concept when a member is directly involved.

* The attitude and views of broader society are also becoming more positive but as mentioned, certain sectors remain hostile. It seems that the white population especially, is more negative than the non-white groups. Race as a concept appears to be more important to whites, but perhaps this will no longer be so in the future.

It is hoped that this study will stimulate interest and further research into this field, leading to a greater understanding of the experiences of mixed-race families in South Africa.

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APPENDIX A

MEDIA COVERAGE OF INTERRACIAL RELATIONSHIPS : 1993-1994

A.1 Introduction

A spate of articles dealing with interracial relationships appeared in the media over the period 1993 to 1994. These articles are reviewed in this chapter in order to give some idea of the current context of the issue as portrayed by the media. Each article is discussed separately in the order in which they appeared.

At times the names of individuals interviewed have been included. Quotes and summaries have been taken from sources as indicated.

It is important to note that whatever interpretations, results and conclusions which are reached in the study bear no reflection on the specific individuals and their families cited in this discussion on the media coverage of interracial relationships.

A.2 Articles

The controversial cover of the August 1993 issue of Tribute magazine revealed a black woman with bare breasts suckling a white baby. This photograph was part of an advertising campaign for the Benetton clothing company which began its startling advertisements graphically depicting various aspects of life, back in 1984. The campaign did not focus exclusively on race but many of the photographs had an interracial theme. Tribute published some of these photographs. One snapshot was of a blond blue-eyed girl hugging a black girl. Another showed a black man's hand, handcuffed to a white man's hand. Yet another, depicted three young children, with their pink tongues sticking out. One child was black, another was white and the third was oriental, supposedly showing that despite their different skin colours their tongues were all the same colour.

In general, the photographs seemed to shock, arouse emotions, question, stir controversy and make a statement, which all adds to publicity, in other words, more advertising. This particular issue of Tribute was banned by the South African Publications Control Board, which unbanned the issue after a court decision when the magazine appealed against its censorship. The Board had initially claimed that the photographs were sexually distasteful but had been unable to support those claims under scrutiny, since exposed breasts were no longer considered to be a reason for censoring magazines (Qwelane, 1993).

An article by Silber and Miller (1993) appeared in the August 1, issue of the Sunday Times Magazine. This article detailed the life of Emma Machar, a white British-born woman who is the wife of Riek Machar, rebel black leader of the Sudanese Peoples' Liberation Army in Nasir, Sudan. Emma, 29 years old, met Riek, a doctoral graduate in mechanical engineering from Bradford, England, four years previously after volunteering for overseas relief work in southern part of Sudan. She fell in love with Riek and the couple were married two years later in a simple open-air ceremony. Emma was Riek's second wife, his first wife a Sudanese woman was living in England with their three children. Emma, involved in promoting health and education among the women of Nasir, says : "I knew what I was letting myself in for ... when you're in love, you can go through anything" (p.17). She also says of the tiny village where she lives, that bombs or mortars are a regular occurrence and almost every man carries an AK-47 rifle or a grenade-launcher.

You magazine (October 7, 1993) ran a story by Viljoen on Dr Piet Koornhof, a white former National Party politician and his relationship with a coloured woman, Marcelle Adams. She has a six month old daughter, Maria, of whom Dr Koornhof says : "Although Maria is not my flesh and blood, I love her so much that I want to be her father in every sense of the word, just as if I were her biological father" (p.13). Photographs accompanying the article show Dr Koornhof bathing with baby Maria.

Louw (1993) interviewed Dr Allan Boesak, a coloured man who is the Western Cape leader of the African National Congress and Elna Boesak, his white, Afrikaans-speaking wife who is a journalist

by profession. The article appeared in the You magazine, December, 9. The Boesaks were married in 1990 and have a daughter Sarah-Len, born in 1991. The family lives in the exclusive suburb of Constantia in Cape Town. Despite both being originally Afrikaans-speaking, they speak only English to their daughter and to each other. Sarah-Len is described as a lively, easy-going child who is very active. Dr Boesak, 47, at the time of the interview met Elna, 34, when she interviewed him for television in his then capacity of president of the World Council of Reformed Churches and Moderator of the Nederduits Gereformeerde Sendingkerk. Allan is the second of eight children who were raised by their mother after their father's death. Three of the children, including Allan are ministers while the others are all teachers. Elna was the child of a Lichtenburg dentist. The marriage was Allan's second and Elna's third. Allan has four children from his first marriage who stay with their mother in Johannesburg and Elna has a son, aged six years who lives with his father, also in Johannes-burg. Allan considers racism to be a phenomenon of a small minority of South Africans while Elna is more bitter, not for herself but for her family of origin. She says : "My father is the most wonderful person I know, but when we (Allan and herself) got together he lost half his practice. He's been pushed by young AWB[1] members in the streets of Lichtenburg" (p.20). Despite everything that the couple have been through they nevertheless consider themselves to be happy. In the words of Allan : "The fact that we've made a go of things together may be symbolic" (p.20).

Snyman (1993), interviewing some 20 people on their views on "love across the colour line" for the December issue of Hustler magazine, concluded that although interracial affairs were not fully accepted in South Africa, the majority of individuals were tolerant and did not condemn the concept of interracial love, even if they themselves would not go as far as getting involved in such a relationship. However, several interviewees did discuss their sexual experiences with members of other race groups. Responses ranged from those who considered the encounters to be much the same as with those of the same race, to descriptions of the sexual act being more exciting and much different. The author also mentions the much publicised affair between the State President's son

1 Afrikaner Weerstands Beweging,a right-wing political party.

Willem de Klerk and coloured, Erika Adams. And, that Rian Malan, author of "My Traitor's Heart" apparently admitted to losing his virginity to a black woman.

Style magazine ran an article in their December/January issue by Levin (1994) on whether white women found black men sexually attractive. The author commented on a phone-in poll on 702 radio where female, mainly white listeners voted Tokyo Sexwale[2] as the sexiest politician in the country. However Levin struggled to get volunteers to comment on the issue for the magazine article and concluded that while sex between white men and black women has been acceptable for many years the opposite combination remains something of a taboo subject.

Tokyo Sexwale, African National Congress politician was interviewed by Behr (1994) for the January, 26 issue of Fair Lady magazine. Tokyo, 40 years old, a black Sotho-speaking man married Judy, a white female aged 33 years. The couple were married in 1992. They have two children, a daughter, Gabrielle born in 1992 and a son, Chris, born in 1993. They stay in a rented home in Houghton, an exclusive, largely white residential area of Johannesburg. The family had previously stayed in Dawn Park, a suburb of conservative Boksburg. At the age of 17 years, Tokyo joined the African National Congress who were banned at the time. He was arrested in 1976 for terrorism and was sentenced at the age of 24 years to 18 years imprisonment on Robben Island. It was during this period that he met Judy who was married at the time and had contact with the 200 political prisoners on Robben Island in her capacity of a para-legal in the human rights department of a Cape Town law firm. Tokyo was chairman of the island's recreational committee and the couple grew to love each other under the constant vigilance of the jail wardens. Tokyo was released from Robben Island in 1990 after 13 years of incarceration but Judy felt that Tokyo should first acclimatise to his new world before marrying. It was only after Gabriella was born that the couple legalised their union. Life for the family has not been easy since the house is guarded day and night and Tokyo may not venture outside without armed protection.

2 The African National Congress premier for the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeninging region.

The article dealt mainly with Tokyo and his work rather than his family. In Tokyo's words : "My job is fighting for the hungry and the poor; for people who are degraded because of the colour of their skin. Ordinary people who were never given a chance. That's why I'm a gladiator" (p.60).

The January 1994 issue of Tribute magazine ran an article by Robertson on interracial marriage in South Africa. The article sets the scene of political and racial intolerance in South Africa by citing examples of racial violence. Family Life Centre counsellor, Liz Dooley is quoted as saying that interracial marriage tends to be more complicated because of the years of segregation. Accordingly, mixed couples may get together out of rebellion against conservative families and apartheid laws. For example, white men and women who grew up in conservative families may get involved with black partners as a way of rejecting the values of their families. And, black men and women may have relationships with white partners as a way of enhancing their status or as a means of getting back at the system. The author discusses Max Nemadzivhanani, black national organiser of the left-wing political organisation, the Pan African Congress whose white Australian wife Kerry, lives in Canberra, Australia with their two children. South African born journalist and author of the controversial book "Kaffir Boy", Mark Mathabane is a black man who has married Gail, a white American woman. He has since been accused of "speaking black and sleeping white" and of being "a traitor to black people". The article does not cite the source of these accusations.

The article also discusses three interviews with mixed-race couples, the author conceding that such couples generally deny that race is an issue. The first marriage discussed was that of Rose Francis, daughter of a black father, a mother of mixed Irish/Zulu origin, and Trevor Julius, a white South African-born man. The couple met at a party in 1980 and were married in 1986. Trevor is an interior designer while Rose is the publisher of Spiritz magazine and owner of Rose Francis Communcations. The couple contend that race has never been important in their relationship but that the racial prejudices they have encountered have made them stronger.

The second couple under discussion were André Laubscher, a white Afrikaans-speaking man who is married to Sophie, an Afrikaans-speaking coloured woman. The couple have two daughters aged

four and one years old. It was Sophie's family that were initially against the marriage, although neither of the partners ever considered the question of colour as a problem since they were both Afrikaans-speaking and shared the same values. André, matriculated, is an artist, while Sophie, having a Standard 2 education, is a mother and housewife. The only areas of contention are religion and the extended family. Sophie would like to go to church more and would like more contact with her extended family.

The third marriage discussed was that of Phila Ndlovu, a black Zulu-speaking male who is married to Lyudmila, a Russian-born white woman. The couple have an 11 year old daughter, Tina who speaks Russian, English and will soon be learning Zulu. Phila moved to Moscow in 1963 to study and earned his doctorate in Contemporary History before meeting Lyudmila in 1972. They were married in Russia a year later. Race was not an issue in Russia and when the couple returned to South Africa in 1991, they expected to encounter problems but have found conversely that people have been very supportive.

Femina magazine (May, 1994) interviewed an interracial family, Siya Twani and his wife Judith. The couple have a baby daughter, Khanyisa Joy. Siya, a Xhosa-speaking black man, met and married Judith, a British-born, blond woman while travelling with a religious group in England. The couple are described as "deeply religious individuals" who are committed to peace. "They're not activists, nor are they members of any political party" (p.56).

Siya and Judith have been subjected to a variety of racial incidents, both positive and negative. Siya discusses an incident which took place in Guguletu[3] :

3 A black suburb near Cape Town where youths who were members of the far left-wing political party, the Pan African Congress are alleged to have killed Amy Biehl, a white American exchange student. She was giving some black youths a lift home.

> "... their car was surrounded and the youngsters jeered at the pregnant Judith. 'Burn, settler burn', they chanted. One of the boys shoved his fist through the window and punched her in the face. An outraged Siya immediately got out of the car to explain that the white woman was his wife. We'll burn you too, they threatened. For Siya, a pastor who grew up in the township it was a devastating experience. 'I cried for a week' he recalls. 'I was shocked and angry, but I have a deep compassion for those kids. I was there myself 15 years ago. I was a very bitter young man and I hated whites from the depths of my heart' " (p.56).

The incident has not stopped Judith from making trips into Guguletu to visit her mother-in-law.

> " 'Talk about the positive things', Judith urges her husband. Like the four black men who hooted and cheered for peace when they saw the couple embracing. The two young white men in Rondebosch who delightedly started singing Paul McCartney and Stevie Wonder's song 'Ebony and Ivory' when they saw the couple" (p.59).

The couple are involved in community work and are committed to changing attitudes in South Africa.

A.3 Conclusion

Several trends are tentatively suggested as emergent themes from this literature as outlined below :

* The spate of articles suggests that this is a topic of interest to the public and one which is being more openly discussed than in previous years.

* Interracial couples seem to be more open about discussing their relationships than they may have been in the past.

* The general population appears to be more willing to discuss the issue of interracial relationships.

* There seems to be a more positive acceptance of interracial relationships by society.

* Both positive and negative experiences have been reported by couples which could indicate that the issue is not fully accepted by all people of all race groups.

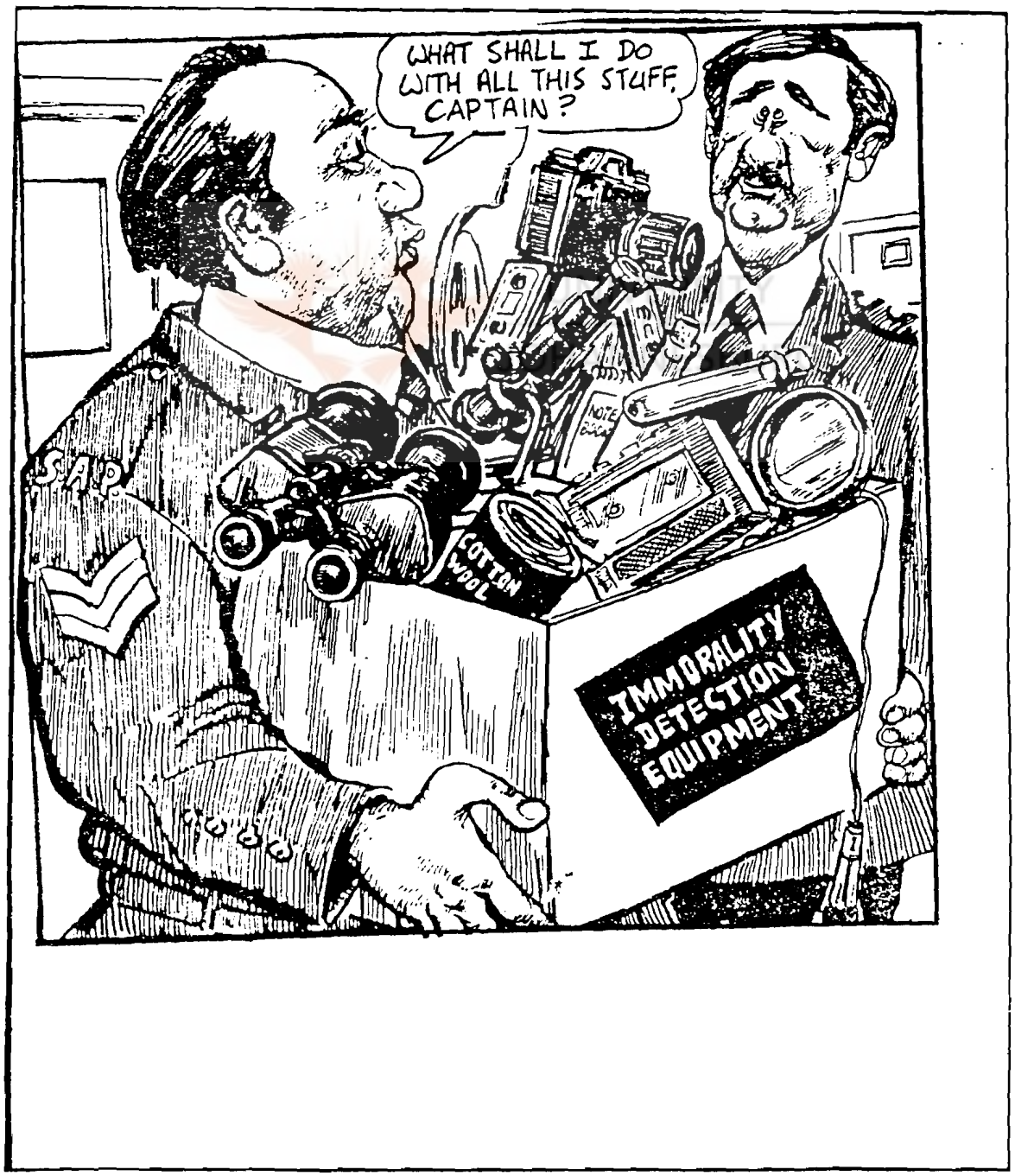
One must keep in mind that these articles appeared in the media in the year preceeding South Africa's first all race elections which took place between the 26th and 29th of April 1994. This may have had the effect of reconciliation for some who wish to put aside the past history of apartheid. But others may be reacting to the rapid changes which they do not support or agree with.

APPENDIX B

NEWSPAPER CARTOONS

The following cartoons appeared in the Sowetan on 17.04.1985 and The Star on 18.04.1985 :

Sowetan : 17.04.1985



The Star : 18.04.1985

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. GENERAL INFORMATION

1.1	Name	Husband	:	_____
		Wife	:	_____
1.2	Date of Birth	Husband	:	_____
		Wife	:	_____
1.3	Nationality	Husband	:	_____
		Wife	:	_____
1.4	Religion	Husband	:	_____
		Wife	:	_____
1.5	Race	Husband	:	_____
		Wife	:	_____
1.6	First Language	Husband	:	_____
		Wife	:	_____
1.7	Date of Marriage		:	_____
1.8	Previous Marital Status	Husband	:	_____
		Wife	:	_____
1.9	Occupation	Husband	:	_____
		Wife	:	_____

1.10 Highest Educational Qualification — Husband : _____

Wife : _____

1.11 Joint Monthly Income : ± R _____

2. AREA OF RESIDENCE

2.1 City of Residence : _____

2.2 Suburb : _____

2.3 Is the suburb mainly

BLACK	WHITE	ASIAN	COLOURED	ALL RACES

2.4 Are there other mixed couples living in your neighbourhood?

YES	NO

2.5 If yes, how many such couples do you personally know?

_____

3. SOCIAL CIRCLE

3.1 Are most of your personal friends mainly

Husband	BLACK	WHITE	ASIAN	COLOURED	ALL RACES
Wife	BLACK	WHITE	ASIAN	COLOURED	ALL RACES

3.2 Are your joint friends mainly

BLACK	WHITE	ASIAN	COLOURED	ALL RACES

3.3 Do you socialise with other mixed couples?

YES	NO

3.4 If yes, how many times a month do you see other mixed couples?

_____

4. EXTENDED FAMILY

4.1 How many times a month do you see your parents?

Husband : _____

Wife : _____

4.2 How many times a month do you see other family members?

Husband : _____ Relationship : _____

_____ _____

Wife : _____ Relationship : _____

_____ _____

4.3 What was the attitude of your parents to you and your spouse when you got married?

Husband : _____

_____

_____

Wife : _____

_____

_____

4.4 What is their attitude now?

Husband : _____

_____

Wife : _____

_____

4.5 What is their attitude towards their grandchildren?

Husband : _____

_____

_____

Wife : _____

_____

_____

5. CHILD REARING

5.1 What religion is/are your children? _____

5.2 What language/s do they speak? First :_____

Second :_____

Third :_____

5.3 What culture are they mainly being taught?

First : _____

Second : _____

Third : _____

5.4 What race do you regard your child/ren to be?

_____

6. PERSONAL ATTITUDES

6.1 What is your view of race relations in South Africa today?

Husband : _____

_____

_____

Wife : _____

_____

_____

6.2 What advice would you give, or have you given your child/ren with regard to his/her race?

Husband and/or Wife : _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

6.3 What advice would you give, or have you given your child/ren with regard to racial attitudes and prejudice?

Husband and/or Wife : _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

6.4 What advice would you give to other mixed couples with children?

_____

_____

7. ELDEST CHILD

7.1 Name : _____

7.2 Date of Birth : _____

7.3 Sex

MALE	FEMALE

7.4 Does your child attend school/nursery school?

YES	NO

7.5 If yes, what grade/standard are they in? _____

7.6 Is the school/nursery school mainly

BLACK	WHITE	ASIAN	COLOURED	ALL RACES

7.7 Are there other mixed-race children in the school/nursery school?

YES	NO

7.8 Are your child's friends mainly

BLACK	WHITE	ASIAN	COLOURED	ALL RACES

7.9 What is the race of your child's closest friend?

BLACK	WHITE	ASIAN	COLOURED	MIXED-RACE

7.10 Does your child have friends who are biracial?

YES	NO

7.11 If yes, please give details : _____

_____

7.12 What sport does your child participate in? _____

_____

_____

7.13 How is your child achieving academically? _____

_____

_____

7.14 What is the attitude of your child's teacher towards him/her?

_____

_____

7.15 What race does your child regard him/herself to be?

_____

7.16 Has your child ever been exposed to any kind of racial discrimination?

YES	NO

7.17 If yes, please describe the situation/s.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

7.18 What was your reaction?

Husband : _____

_____

_____

Wife : _____

_____

7.19 Has your child given any indication that he/she is unhappy about his race/complexion?

YES	NO

7.20 If yes, please describe the situation.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

7.21 What was your reaction?

Husband : _____

_____

_____

Wife : _____

_____

_____

7.22 Briefly describe your child's personality.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

8. SECOND CHILD

8.1 Name : _____

8.2 Date of Birth : _____

8.3 Sex :

MALE	FEMALE

8.4 Does your child attend school/nursery school?

YES	NO

8.5 If yes, what grade/standard are they in? _____

8.6 Is the school/nursery school mainly

BLACK	WHITE	ASIAN	COLOURED	ALL RACES

8.7 Are there other mixed-race children in the school/nursery school?

YES	NO

8.8 Are your child's friends mainly

BLACK	WHITE	ASIAN	COLOURED	ALL RACES

8.9 What is the race of your child's closest friend?

BLACK	WHITE	ASIAN	COLOURED	MIXED-RACE

8.10 Does your child have friends who are biracial?

YES	NO

8.11 If yes, please give details : _____

_____

8.12 What sports does your child participate in? _____

_____

_____

8.13 How is your child achieving academically? _____

_____

_____

8.14 What is the attitude of your child's teacher towards him/her?

_____

_____

8.15 What race does your child regard him/herself to be?

_____

8.16 Has your child ever been exposed to any kind of racial discrimination?

YES	NO

8.17 If yes, please describe the situation/s.

_____

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8.18 What was your reaction?

Husband : _____

_____

_____

Wife : _____

_____

_____

8.19 Has your child given any indication that he/she is unhappy about his race/complexion?

YES	NO

8.20 If yes, please describe the situation.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

8.21 What was your reaction?

Husband : _____

_____

_____

Wife : _____

_____

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8.22 Briefly describe your child's personality.

_____

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APPENDIX D
LETTER TO THANDI MAGAZINE

ADDRESS

Thandi Letters
Box 32083
Mobeni
4060

11 May 1993

Dear Sir / Madam

re : Mixed Couples with Children : Doctoral Thesis

I am currently studying towards a Doctorate in Psychology, focussing on mixed couples with children. It would be appreciated if you would publish the following details in Thandi as I am in need of additional people for this project. Couples who would like to assist by completing a questionnaire and/or being interviewed should write to Lee Morrall, P O Box 8690, Johannesburg, 2000. Personal details will be kept confidential if requested.

The assistance of your magazine will be acknowledged in the thesis.

Yours sincerely

L MORRALL
TELEPHONE NUMBER

APPENDIX E

ADVERTISEMENT IN THANDI MAGAZINE

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MIXED COUPLES WITH CHILDREN

If you and your partner are a mixed couple and have had children together, a Johannesburg psychologist needs your help.

Lee Morrall is currently doing a Doctorate in Psychology and her thesis is based on research done into mixed couples. If you're interested in helping Ms Morrall, write to her and she'll send you a questionnaire to fill in. Write to: Lee Morrall, Box 8690, Johannesburg, 2000.

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